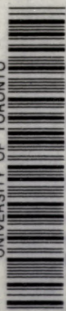


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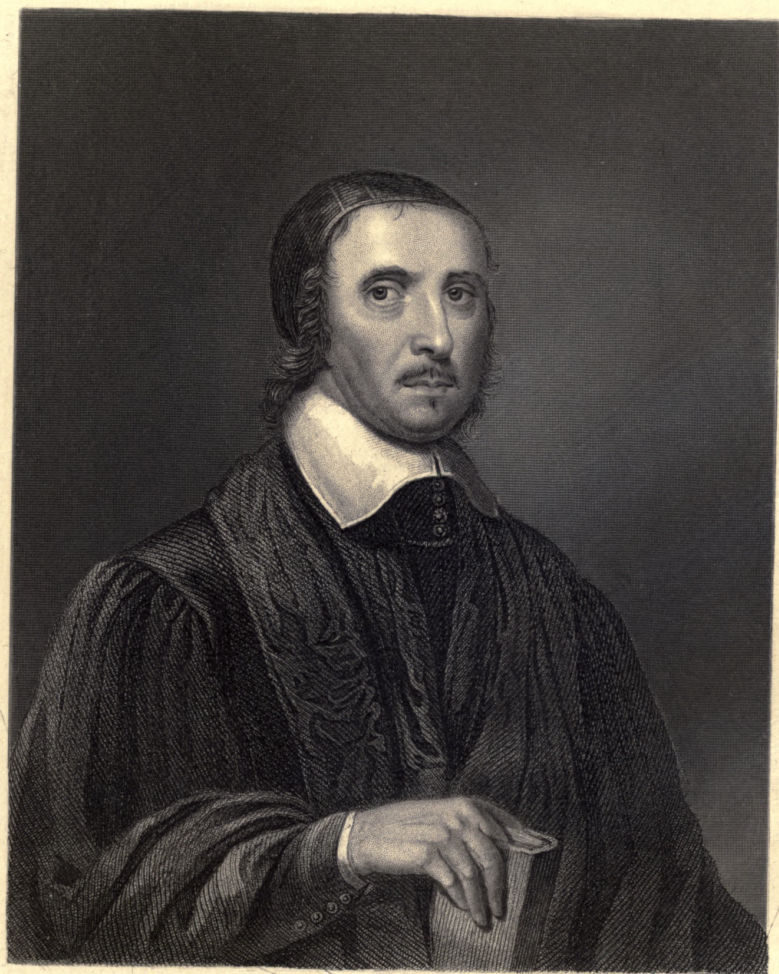


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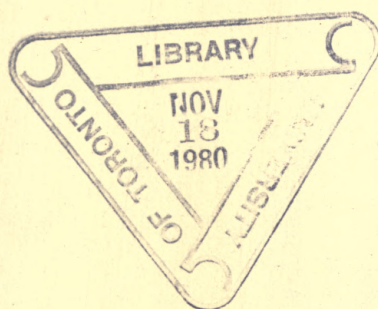


SIR HANS SLOANE M.D.



W.Holl

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.



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v.4

LE BOTILIER, OR BUTLER,—LINE OF ORMONDE. EARLDOM CREATED
BY EDWARD III. 1328.

GREAT ANCESTOR ON *Male Side*, *Theobald Walter*, CHIEF BUTLER OF HENRY II., 1167.

Theobald, his only son, 1206, assumed the name *Le Botlier* or *Butler*.

Theobald *Le Botlier*, his eldest son, 1248, married the eldest daughter of *Richard de Burgo*.

Barons Le Botlier or Butler.

Earl of Carrick.

Earls of Carrick and Ormonde.

1
1268.
Theobald, his s.
A Baron in I. Par.
Ob. grant from
Ed. I. of priz.
of Wines in I.

2
1285.
Theobald,
his eldest son.
A Baron in Parl.
His name 5th on
the roll.
D. unmarried.

1
(1.) 1299.
Edmond, his bro.
Knighted 1309.
L. deputy 1312.
Ct. gov. 1314.
E. Carrick 1315.
M. d. e. Kil-
dare.

1
(C. 2.) 1321.
James, his eld.
son, mar. g.-d.
of Ed. I. Cre.
e. of O.
by Ed. III.
1328.

2
(C. 3.) 1338.
James, his eld.
son, called
Noble Earl as
g.-grandson of
Ed. I.

Earls of Carrick and Ormonde.

AND E. OF OSSORY.

3
(C. 4.) 1382.
James, his eld. s.
(E. of *Govan*
from cas.
of that name.)
Acquired (1391)
cas. Kilkenny
by purch.

4
(C. 5.) 1405.
James, his eldest
son. Called the
White Earl. A
very learned
man. M. d. e.
Kildare.

5
(C. 6.) 1452.
James, his eld. s.
(E. *Wiltshire*, E.
1449.) L.-lieut.
of I. 1453.
Bet. 1461 by par-
ty of York in E.
T. forfeited.

6 & 7
(C. 7.) 1461.
John, his bro.
res. in blood by
Ed. IV.
(C. 8.) 1478.
Thomas, his bro.
(L. *Rockford*, E.)
D. 1515, 2. daus.

8
(C. 9.) 1515.
Sir Pierce Butler,
desc. fr.
2d son of 3d earl.
Resigned earl-
doms when cre-
ated e. of Ossory,
1527.

Earls of Wiltshire and Ormonde.

Earls of Ormonde (restored) and Ossory.

1
1527.
Sir Tho. Boleyn,
s. of 2d d. of 7th e.
E. of W. & O.
1523.
Anne his d. M.
Henry VIII.
D. s. p.

2
1537.
Sir Pierce Butler,
(1st. e. of Ossory.)
Suc. by grant
M. d. e. of
Kildare and
ye Good Countess.

9
(Oss. 2.) 1541.
James, eld. son,
(Vis. *Thurlow*,
1585.) Created
as 9th e. of O. 1541.
M. d. 11th e. Des-
mond. Poisoned.

10
(Oss. 3.) 1546.
Thomas, his son,
The *Black Earl*.
First who con-
formed to E. of
Eng.

11
(Oss. 4.) 1614.
Sir Walter of
Kilcash,
g. son. of 9th e.
M. dan. of
2d. Vis. Mount-
garret.

*Earls, Marquises, and Dukes
of Ormonde and Es. of Oss.*

ARMORIAL BEARINGS
OF BUTLER, EARL OF ORMONDE.

Earls of Or. and Oss.

12 Oss. 5.
(M. & D. 1.) 1632.
James,
(The Great Duke.)
g.-s. 11th e.
Mar. of Orm.
1642.) Duke in
I. 1661, and in
E. 1682.

17 Oss. 10.
1791.
Restored to
John, son of
Walter, 16th e.
By dec. I. H.
of L.

*Earls, Marquises, and Dukes
of Ormonde and Es. of Oss.*

*Earls and Marquesses of
Ormonde and s. of Oss.*

13, 14. Oss. 6, 7.
(M. & D. 2.) 1638.
James, his g.-s.
Att. of treason
1715, d. 1745.
In abeyance.
(3.) Charles, his
br. d. s. p. 1768.
D. & M. extinct

18, 19. Oss. 11, 12.
(M. 1.) b. 1770.
Walter, his son,
cr. M. of O. in I.
D. s. p. 1820.
(M. 2.) b. 1777.
James, his bro.,
B. Llantonny.
M. of O. in B. P.
1825.

*Earls of Or. and Oss.
in abeyance.*

15, 16. Oss. 8, 9.
1738.
15 John, g. s.
of 11th e., d. s. p.
16. Walter, his
cou., of Garry-
ricken. Restor-
ed 1791, to John,
his son.



QUARTERLY.—1st. Or, a chief indented azure; the original cognizance of the family.

2d. Gules three covered cups or; an additional bearing, assumed with the office of Chief Butler of Ireland.

3d. Argent, a lion rampant sable, on a chief, gules, a swan, wings expanded, of the first, between two annulets or; being the arms borne by Edmond Earl of Carrick, father of the first Earl of Ormonde, and said to have been assumed by him with the title.

4th. Ermine, a saltier, en-

grailed, gules; the arms of the Fitzgeralds of the house of Desmond; James the 9th Earl of Ormonde having married Joan, the daughter and sole heir of the last Earl of Desmond.

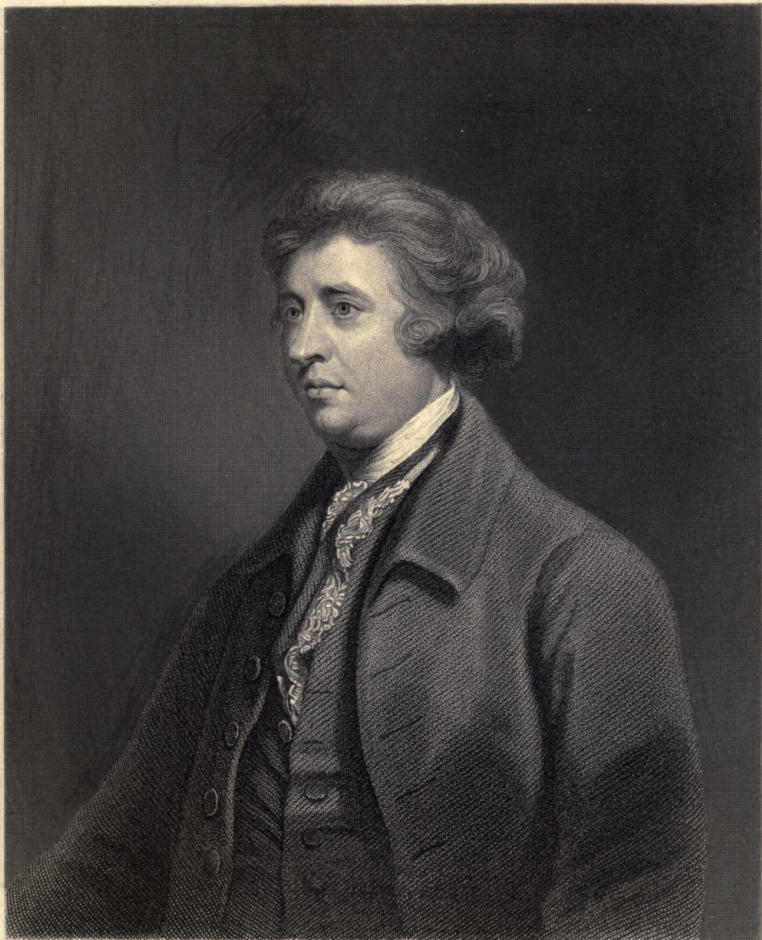
CRESTS.—Out of a ducal coronet, or; a plume of five ostrich feathers, argent, therefrom issuant a falcon, rising, of the last.

SUPPORTERS.—Dexter, a falcon, wings expanded, argent, beaked and membered, or; sinister, a male griffin, argent, beaked, rayed, collared, and chained, or.

MOTTO.—Comme je trouve.

*Earls and Marquesses
of Or. and Es. of Oss.*

20, 21. Oss. 13, 14.
(M. 3.) b. 1808.
John, his son,
s. 1838. M. dau.
of Hon. Sir E.
Paget, G.C.B.
(M. 4.) b. 1844.
James, present
Marquess,
s. 1854.



W. Hall

Edm. Burke

EDMUND BURKE.

our horse so well charged there, that at least three hundred of the rebels were slain in the street, and the meadow behind the houses, through which they did run away to their main body, whereby they were so much discouraged, that almost in two hours after, their officers could not get out any more parties to adventure a second assault upon us; but in the mean space, they entertained us with continued shot from their body and their field-pieces, till about one of the clock, that fresh parties were drawn out and beaten back as before, with loss of many of their men, which they supplied still with others till night; and in the dark they fired all the town, which was in a few hours turned into ashes; and in that confusion and heat of the fire, the enemy made a fierce assault. But it so pleased God, that we were better provided for them than they expected, by a relief that came to us at night-fall from Belfast, of the earl of Donegall's troop, and a company of foot, commanded by captain Boyd, who was unhappily slain presently after his first entrance into the town. And after the houses were on fire about six of the clock, till ten or eleven, it is not easy to give any certain account or relation of the several encounters in divers places of the town between small parties of our horse here and there, and of the rebels, and whom they charged as they met and hewed them down, so that every corner was filled with carcasses, and the slain were found to be more than thrice the number of those that fought against them, as appeared next day, when the constables and inhabitants employed to bury them, gave up their accounts. About ten or eleven of the clock, their two generals quit their station, and marched away in the dark, and had not above two hundred of their men with them, as we were informed next morning by several English prisoners that escaped from them, who told us the rest of their men either ran away before them or were slain; and that there were two field-pieces was thrown into the river, or in some moss-pit, which we could never find after, and in this their retreat, or this their flight, they fired Brookhill house, and the lord Conway's library in it, and other goods, to the value of five or six thousand pounds, their fear and haste not allowing them to carry any thing away, except some plate and linen; and this did in revenge to the owner, whom they heard was landed the day before, and had been active in the service against them, and was shot that day, and also had his horse shot under him, but mounted presently upon another, and captain St John, and captain Burley, were also wounded, and about thirty men more of our party, most of which recovered, and not above twenty-five or twenty-six were slain. And if it be well considered, how meanly our men were armed, and all our ammunition spent before night, and that if we had not been supplied with men by the timely care and providence of the earl of Donegall and other commanders from his majesty's store at Carrickfergus, (who sent us powder, post, in mails, on horseback, one after another) and that most of our new-raised companies were of poor stript men, that had made their escape from the rebels, of whom they had such a dread, that they thought them not easily to be beaten, and that all our horse (who did the most execution,) were not above one hundred and twenty, viz., the lord Conway's troops, and a squadron of the lord Grandison's troop, (the rest of them having been murdered in their quarters in Tanagee,) and

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about forty of a country troop newly raised, until that of the troop company from Belfast came to us at night. It must be confessed that the Lord of Hosts did signally appear for us, who can save with or without any means, and did by very small means give us the victory over His and our enemies, and enough of their arms to supply the defects of our new companies, besides about fifty of their colours and drums. But it is to be remembered much with regret, that this loss and overthrow did so enrage the rebels, that for several days and weeks after, they murdered many hundreds of protestants whom they had kept prisoners in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and other parts of Ulster, and tormented them by several manners of death. And it is a circumstance very observable, that much snow had fallen in the week before this action, and in the day before it was a little thaw, and, frost thereupon in the night, so that the streets were covered with ice, which proved greatly to our advantage; for that all the smiths had been employed that whole night to frost our horses, so that they stood firm, when the brogues slipt and fell down under their feet. For which, and our miraculous deliverance from a cruel and bloody enemy, how great cause have we to rejoice and praise the name of our God, and say with that kingly prophet—‘If it had not been the Lord himself who was on our side when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. Yea the waters of the deep had drowned us, and the stream had gone over our soul; the deep waters of the proud had gone over our souls; praised be the Lord who has not given us over for a prey unto their teeth: our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken and we are delivered. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord who hath made heaven and earth. Amen.’”

The army of Ireland consisted at that time of fourteen troops, amounting to 943 horse, and of forty-one independent companies, making 2297 foot.* Only three of these troops, lord Conway's, lord Grandison's, and colonel Chichester's, were allowed to remain in the north; lord Wilmot's and Sir W. St Leger's, with the presidents of Connaught and Munster, and all the rest, were summoned to Dublin. Notwithstanding the obstinate refusal of the lords-justices to send reinforcements to the north, either from the wish of allowing the rebellion to spread, or as Sir W. St Leger asserted, “that they were so horribly afraid of their own persons, that they thought the old army and all the new raised forces little enough for their security;” the small bodies that were under the command of colonel Chichester, lord Montgomery, Sir W. Cole, &c., &c., kept the rebels on the defensive, and prevented them from maintaining their ground in the north. About the middle of April general Monroe landed at Carrickfergus with 2500 Scots, when he was joined by lord Conway and colonel Chichester, with 1800 foot, besides horse. They at once directed their march to Newry, from which the rebels fled as they approached, and the castle was surrendered to them without any opposition. It was found to contain only half-a-barrel of powder, and about sixty muskets.

* Carte.

During the remainder of this year Monroe remained quite inactive, and the regiments under colonel Chichester, Sir Arthur Tyrningham, the lords Claneboy and Ardes, &c., were left in so totally destitute a state, without pay, provisions, or ammunition, that they could do but little, and were with difficulty kept from disbanding; while their commanders were gradually exhausting their own fortunes in maintaining them.

On the arrival of Conally in 1644, with the letters of parliament pressing them to take the covenant, lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir William Cole, colonel Chichester, &c., called a meeting in Belfast to consider what should be done, and privately agreed among themselves, without entering into particulars with the parliament, to preserve their inviolable allegiance to the king, to obey the orders of the marquess of Ormonde, and not to accept the covenant nor any commander over them.

After Monroe and his officers had with great solemnity taken the covenant in the church of Carrickfergus, the Scotch clergy traversed the country in all directions, pressing it upon the soldiers and inhabitants with as much zeal and earnestness as if their salvation depended upon it, and in many instances refusing to give the sacrament to those who rejected it. On hearing of these proceedings the lord-lieutenant and the council sent positive orders to all the colonels in Ulster to publish the proclamation against the covenant at the head of their respective regiments. The colonels were aware not only of the strong infatuation that existed upon the subject, but also that most of their own soldiery had already accepted it; but yet, with a brave defiance of the consequences, Sir Robert Stewart, colonel Chichester, colonel Hill, and the commanding officer of lord Conway's regiment, had their regiments drawn out, and respectively read the proclamation. When colonel Chichester had finished it, "one of his captains, a lieutenant, and about thirty of the common soldiers, protested publicly against it, and declared that, if no public act had been done by their colonel against the covenant, they would never have taken it (as now they would) nor have deserted him or his commands. The colonel could not but take notice of this insolence; but all that he could do to punish it was to suspend those officers from their commands for the present, not daring to proceed with greater rigour, because he was not provided for defence, and every bit of bread that his men ate, came through the hands of the Scots." The wants of the army became every day more pressing, and colonel Chichester made so strong a representation of them to the lord-lieutenant, that he, on his own private credit, raised £300 and sent it to colonel Chichester for the immediate relief of his garrison in Belfast, and promised farther supplies as soon as they arrived from England. He also gave him authority to act as he judged best respecting the refractory officers and soldiers, but observed that he had always found "round dealing with the Scots full as available as connivance, and that he should be bold with them if they were in Dublin." A very few days, says Carte, "passed before the colonel, with all his lenity, suffered as much mischief as ever he apprehended from severity, and found by experience that connivance at

public insolences is the most improper method in nature to procure obedience; and that impunity, instead of engaging offenders to a greater fidelity, only emboldens them to commit new crimes."

Monroe having received a commission from the English parliament under their new seal, appointing him commander-in-chief of the English as well as Scotch forces in Ulster, Sir James Montgomery (who had received information on the subject) sent to summon a meeting of the commanding officers of the different districts in Belfast, which place colonel Chichester commanded. They met on the evening of the 13th of May, but adjourned their consultation to the following morning. Late at night a soldier of colonel Chichester's regiment came from Carrickfergus with intelligence that Monroe had given orders to some Scotch regiments to be in readiness to march on Belfast at two in the morning. Colonel Chichester instantly gave orders to have all the guards doubled, and called out every officer in the garrison upon duty. As an additional security, scouts were sent out to ascertain the state of the country, and to give the earliest notice of his approach. They returned at six in the morning, asserting that they had gone within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was in the most profound tranquillity. Trusting to this treacherous statement, the additional guards were incautiously dismissed, and the officers who had been all night on duty were allowed to retire to rest. Silently and treacherously Monroe approached, and, having corrupted the scouts, he had also previously made arrangements with the sergeant of the guard who kept the gate at that side of the city, to admit him and his followers, so that he was enabled to cross the town without any interruption, and when he arrived at the gate at the other side of the city, leading to Lisnegarvy, he directed his men to possess themselves of the cannon and bulwarks, and to take the guards prisoners. Colonel Chichester, made in the same moment aware of the loss of the town and the uselessness of opposition, sent some of the other colonels to inquire the meaning of Monroe's hostile movements. He answered, that as colonel Chichester had thought proper to publish a proclamation against the covenant, which implied that all those who had taken it should thenceforth be considered as traitors; he did not conceive that those who trusted to his protection would be safe without his having a garrison of his own in the place, and that he had accordingly taken that course as the only one left open to him. He immediately desired that all colonel Chichester's men, except those who guarded his own house, should leave Belfast, and took measures for the custody of the city. He then proceeded to Lisnegarvy, whither Sir Theophilus Jones had gone the preceding evening, and, supported by the fidelity of the garrison, had taken such effectual means for its defence, that Monroe, after a conference with colonel Jones, in which he found that the soldiers were not to be corrupted, thought it better not to tarnish his bloodless laurels, and returned to Belfast. Thus a second time, in so short a period, had that small town, by its loyalty, fidelity, and bravery, resisted the attacks of two armies, overwhelming in their numbers, and opposite in their principles and discipline. Colonel Chichester, indignant at the

unfair advantage that had been taken of him, would not condescend to accept of the privilege allowed him of residing in his own castle, but went to England to complain of his wrongs.

The position of affairs in the north, along with the disaffection of the army, making his return there useless, he removed to Dublin and was sworn in a member of the privy council. His great fidelity in the royal cause, joined to his long services, induced the marquess of Ormonde, in 1645, to write a letter to the king, reminding him of those claims, and suggesting his elevation. We extract a portion of it: "You have been graciously pleased of late to reward some that have either served your majesty actually, or suffered for you eminently in their persons or fortunes, with new creations or with additions of honour in this kingdom. That colonel Arthur Chichester hath missed such a mark of your majesty's favour, I conceive to have been through his own modesty, and my not representing his personal merit. If he outlives his father he will be among the foremost of the viscounts of this kingdom in place, and (I am sure,) beyond them all, except one, in fortune, though he be for the present deprived of the latter for his faithfulness to your majesty's crown, the same means by which his uncle got both it and his honour. He hath served your majesty against the Irish rebellion since the beginning of it; and when, through an almost general defection of the northern army he was no longer able to serve your majesty there, he came with much hazard to take his share in the sufferings of your servants here, and with them to attend for that happy time that (we trust,) will put us in a condition to contribute more to your service than our prayers. If your majesty shall think fit to advance this gentleman to an earldom, I conceive that of Dunnegall, a county in the province of Ulster, wherein he shall have a good inheritance, is fittest, which I humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, as a part of the duty of

"Your majesty's, &c.

"ORMONDE."

The king, upon this representation, created him earl of Donegal, with limitation of the honour to the issue male of his father; his own children, of whom he had thirteen, being dead, excepting two daughters, the youngest of whom survived him. In the year following he had a heavy domestic calamity in the death of his second wife, Mary, daughter of John Digby, first earl of Bristol, by whom he had had seven children. He had lost his first wife, Dorcas, daughter of John Hill, Esq. of Honiley, when he was only twenty-four, after she had given birth to a daughter. His third wife was Letitia, only surviving daughter of Sir William Hickes, bart. of Rookshall in Essex.*

After the restoration he was made captain of a troop of horse, and *Custos Rotulorum Pacis* in the counties of Antrim and Donegal. In June, 1661, he took his seat in the first parliament after the restoration, and was appointed governor of Carrickfergus. In 1666, a variety of plots were carrying on through the three kingdoms by the fanatics; and in Ireland they found minds predisposed to mutiny, both

* Lodge.

from temperament and from the very bad pay of the soldiery. Strong indications of insubordination showed themselves in Carrickfergus, which were soon quieted; but being too leniently put down, soothed in place of being coerced, a second mutiny broke out the following month, in which all the privates of four companies, who were quartered there, rose in a body in defiance of their corporals, and seized on the town and castle of Carrickfergus; and when the governor, the earl of Donegal, endeavoured, by fair means and by offers of mercy, to recall them to a sense of their duty, they answered most arrogantly, and rejected the pardon which he volunteered. They framed a declaration, in which they endeavoured to incite other garrisons to follow their example, and they had the audacity to enclose this to lord Donegal along with a paper containing their demands. The duke of Ormonde, on receiving the first intimation of this outbreak, sent his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, by sea to Carrickfergus, with positive orders to the earl to make no farther offers of mercy, as he considered it indispensable to the peace of the kingdom to make some examples. Lord Arran had a stormy passage, but arrived at Carrickfergus on the 27th of the month, and landed without any opposition. He was immediately joined by the earl of Donegal and the mayor of the town, who told him there was a party within anxious to seize upon one of the gates, and admit him, if he would make an attack upon the rebel garrison. The garrison, anxious to gain time for plundering the town and securing the provisions, sent to demand some hours for deliberation as to their future course; but lord Arran having intimation of their intentions, caused a party instantly to advance and demand admittance. This they obstinately refused, and a brisk fire at once commenced, the town being well supplied with men. Lord Arran quickly came up and forced an entrance, with the loss of only two men, while many of the rebels fell, besides their ringleader of the name of Dillon. Most of the officers belonging to these companies had been absent on leave, but on their return the garrison submitted, and hung out a white flag for the purpose of obtaining a parley. They let down two of their men by ropes; one of whom offered to persuade his comrades to surrender without conditions if his own life should be spared. Lord Arran rejected the base proposal, and refused to accept of a surrender, unless on an absolute submission to the lord-lieutenant's mercy, "to save or hang as many of them as he pleased." They asked for a few hours to consider such hard terms, which being granted, and at the same time any modification of them denied, they delivered up the castle at the appointed hour, which, besides being strong, was found to contain a month's provisions for the garrison, had they continued to hold out.

On the arrival of the duke, he held a court-martial on 110 of the offenders, nine of whom were executed.

The remaining years of lord Donegal's life passed in comparative tranquillity; and in 1674 he married his daughter and ultimate heiress to lord Gowran, son of the duke of Ormonde, who, however, from early dissipation, quickly fell into a declining state of health, and died, leaving no children. The eldest daughter of the earl had been married in 1655 to John St Leger, and became mother to the first viscount

Doneraile. His children by his third wife all died in infancy, with the exception of his daughter, Anne, countess of Gowran. The earl died two months after his daughter's marriage, 1674, at Belfast, and was buried, according to his own request, at Carrickfergus. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Arthur Chichester.

A splendid monument was erected to his memory in Eggesford church, where he is represented in alabaster as large as life, standing between his first and second wives, who are represented in recumbent postures. We subjoin the epitaphs of both ladies:—

ON THE FIRST.

Weep, reader, weep, and let thine eyes
With tears embalm the obsequies
Of her blest shrine; who was in all
Her full dimensions so angelical
And really good, that virtue might repine
For want of stuff to make one more divine.

ON THE SECOND.

Lo! here the mirror of her sex, whose praise
Asks not a garland, but a grove of bays;
Whose unexemplared virtue shined far
And near, the western wonder! like some star
Of the first magnitude; which though it lies
Here in eclipse, is only set to rise.

SIR ROBERT STEWART.

DIED ABOUT A. D. 1665.

THE ancestors of the eminent soldier here to be noticed, and of the Irish branch of the family of Stewart came into Ireland in the reign of James I, and claim an ancient and illustrious origin from the family of that monarch. We might thus travel far back into the antiquity of Irish kings and heroes, the founders of the ancient monarchy of the Scottish throne. Of these some notice may be found in our introduction. We might also repeat with some effect the romance of Macbeth, and once more call up the ghost of Banquo to sit in his vacant chair and shake his "gory locks" for the entertainment of our readers. As the first of the Stewarts is traced by the heralds to his grandson, Walter, the son of Fleance, who on the murder of his father by Macbeth, fled into Wales, where he married Nesta, the daughter of Griffith ap Llewellyn, king of North Wales. After the death of Macbeth, his son, Walter, returned to Scotland, and was made lord high steward of Scotland by king Malcolm III. From him descended in order several representatives, bearing the name of Stewart to Robert Stewart or Stuart, who, in 1370, on the failure of issue male in the reigning family, succeeded to the throne of Scotland, by which the crown was transferred back into the direct line of descent from king Duffus, in the tenth century.

James Stewart, a son of Murdoch, second duke of Albany, on the attainder of his father, fled into Ireland, where he married into the

family of MacDonell, and settled in the county of Tyrone where he died in 1449, leaving seven sons. From these descended several branches of the Stewart family in this country. Of these the oldest was created lord Avondale, to which title in the course of descent, were added the titles of Ochiltree next, and then Castle-Stewart.

The branch of this family, of whom we are now more especially to speak, is not traced to its root in the parent stem, with the distinctness we could wish. But the connexion is undoubted and not remote. We must here be contented to follow the example of most historians, and all heralds, whose skill in tracing out the cobweb lines of pedigree is not more admirable than the sleight of hand, by which obscure dates and lamentable chasms are shuffled out of view; so that the concealment of ignorance indicates a degree of skill not less useful than the discovery of truth.

In the reign of James I., the Stewarts of Newtown-Stewart and Culmore, in the county of Tyrone, were distinguished by their ability and courage, of both of whom we shall here give an account.

Sir William was the elder brother, and an undertaker to a very large extent in the county of Tyrone at the time of the plantation of Ulster. There he made considerable improvements, and built several castles and flourishing villages. He was knighted for his useful and efficient conduct in the short rebellion of O'Doherty; and, in 1613, represented the county of Donegal in parliament. By privy seal in 1423, he was created baronet.

When the rebellion of 1641 broke out, he received a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop of horse, for the security of the country. With this body of men he gave Sir Phelim O'Neile three remarkable defeats. Near Strabane, as he was on the point of setting fire to the town of Raphoe; on the mountains of Barnesmore; and lastly, a bloody and decisive rout, June 16th, 1642, which we have noticed in our memoir of Sir Phelim, and in which the great army which had been collected from all the northern counties, was put to flight, with the loss of five hundred men. Sir William died some time about 1662, the latest date at which we can discover any historical mention of him, or of his brother Robert, whom we are now to notice.

Robert Stewart was the second brother of the same family; and was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I. He received large grants in the counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh. He was made a colonel by king Charles; and, in 1638, was appointed to the command of Culmore castle. He was in the following year returned member of parliament for the city of Londonderry; and in 1641, obtained a commission to raise one thousand foot, and a troop, for the king's service. He was made also governor of Derry, on the death of Sir James Vaughan in 1643, and on the 3d June, in that year, obtained a memorable victory over the rebel commander, the celebrated Owen O'Neile. The particulars of this battle must be the trophy of the victor, we shall therefore give a brief account of them here.

Owen O'Neile was on his march through the county of Monaghan, with three thousand two hundred men, of which force one thousand were immediately with him, the remainder were in attendance upon a large collection of cattle and fugitives, which it was his intention to

escort into Leitrim and the bordering counties. Stewart, having obtained intelligence of his approach, hastened to overtake him, and after a very severe march, came up with him on the borders of Fermanagh, at a place called Clonish. He had with him his own regiment, and Sir William's, with some companies from Derry, and from the regiments of Sir W. Balfour, and colonel Mervyn. When his approach had been ascertained by O'Neile, he posted his main body to the best advantage, in a strong pass, under a veteran officer of his own name, and advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre. Sir Robert was about a mile from the enemy when he was apprized of these particulars: he ordered a halt that his men might breathe and take some refreshment. After this, he marched on till he came in sight of the rebels—they were drawn up behind a pass through a narrow stone causeway which O'Neile had lined with musqueteers. Sir Robert detached a strong party to force this position; their approach was met by O'Neile's cavalry, which came rushing over the causeway, and a very smart encounter took place: but the Irish were at last driven back—and their retreat pursued by Stewart's horse. For a moment the advantage was doubtful; the last horseman of the Irish had scarcely passed over the causeway, when the pursuers were saluted by a tremendous fusilade from the musqueteers within. The cavalry retired, but it was to make way for the forlorn hope, who charged impetuously in, and carried all before them—the whole of the English cavalry were at their heels, and in a few moments again charging the enemy's horse on the other side of the pass. For some minutes now the battle raged with great fury and little method. Captain Stewart, the leader of Sir Robert's troop, and probably either his son or his nephew, engaged hand to hand with Owen O'Neile: the combat was interrupted—the combatants were too important to their respective parties to be allowed to fight it out—the battle rested for an instant on the result of a blow, when Stewart was charged on one side, and wounded, while by a lateral shock his horse was borne to the earth.

In the mean time, Shane O'Neile, whom his commander had posted in the rear of the cavalry, in the strong pass already mentioned, saw how matters were going on. He advanced with his twelve companies to support the cavalry already beginning to break and give way. Sir Robert saw this movement, and quitting the cavalry which he had headed, he put himself at the head of his own regiment of foot and led them on to charge the advancing infantry of his antagonist. They were bravely received, and both parties rushing together with the animosity of the occasion and age, strove with a brave and sanguinary desperation for a full half hour. At last, as the second regiment of the English had made their way, and were ready to advance to the aid of their companions, the Irish suddenly gave way and fled with such precipitation as to break the order of their own body of reserve, which was coming up to their aid. All fled together, and the English horse executed tremendous havoc on their flying companies as they ran. In this battle the loss of Owen O'Neile was very great: numbers of his best men were slain, and, what was far worse, most of his foreign officers were either killed or taken.

The loss of the English was but six killed, and twenty-two wounded; but Sir Robert Stewart was by no means in condition to take further advantage of his victory. His supplies were spent, and he was obliged to disperse his forces to their several stations, and return to Londonderry. O'Neile pursued his way to Charlemont: the people flocked about his standard every mile of the way; before he had reached Mohil, his forces showed no sign of the slaughter of Clunies. They were, it is true, unarmed; but the supreme council sent him arms and ammunition, and he soon took the field as strong as ever.

We shall now pass on more glancingly through the rest of Stewart's career. Most of the circumstances we shall have to relate in future detail. In 1644, he was one among the colonels who agreed in a resolution against taking the covenant which the parliament ordered to be taken by the army.

In 1648, he was, by the vicissitudes of events, opposed to the parliamentary army in Ireland. And as he commanded the important fort of Culmore, which was the key to Londonderry, he was an object of much close watchfulness, and fell into a dexterously contrived snare—which is indistinctly related by Lodge, who refers to Carte, but must have found his half-told story somewhere else. Carte simply mentions, that “Sir Charles Coote,” (son of the person already commemorated in volume II.) “treacherously seized on Sir Robert Stewart's person, forced him to order his castle of Culmore to be delivered, and then sent him a prisoner to London.” Lodge mentions that he was inveigled into Derry, to a baptism at a friend's house, and “insidiously taken,” and with colonel Mervyn, who was similarly taken, delivered to colonel Monk, who sent them to London,—adding that colonel Monk, *afterwards by some artifices*, got possession of Culmore:—a statement which may be as true as Carte's, but is not the same. Carte's observation should not be here unpeated:—“This treatment of so gallant an officer, after a course of sufferings for so many years, and of services greater than any other commander then in the kingdom had performed, highly incensed the old Scots, and all the forces that had used to serve under him.”

When the war was ended by the success of the parliamentary forces, and an act was passed for the settlement of Ireland, Stewart was expressly excepted from pardon for life or estate. He lived nevertheless to see brighter days after a long and dreary interval of adversity. The year 1660 brought with it the restoration; and the merit and sufferings of Stewart were among those which escaped the oblivion of the heartless and selfish Charles. He was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after made governor of the city and county of Derry.

From this we find no further mention worthy of note; and as he had run a long course from the year 1617, in which we find him recorded for his faithful services to king James, to the restoration, we may presume, that he had attained a good old age. From the Ordnance Survey of Derry, we also find that in 1661, he was succeeded in his government by colonel Gorges, appointed May 6th, 1661. It is therefore the high probability that his death occurred in the same year.

ROBERT STEWART, OF IRRY.

DIED A. D. 1662.

In the previous notice it has been shown, that a branch of the Stewart family which bore in Scotland the titles of Avondale and Ochiltree, had been advanced in Ireland to the title of baron Castlestewart, of the county of Tyrone.

Robert Stewart of Irry was brother to the fifth lord Castlestewart, and was highly distinguished among the numerous brave men whom a stirring time has brought into historic notice. We do not think ourselves quite warranted to bring forward a full detail of the various exploits belonging to other memoirs, in which he bore an honourable part. He relieved Dungannon fort, and that of Mountjoy, when at the point of surrender to the rebels; and, attacking the besiegers with a very inferior force, compelled them to decamp into the fastnesses of Slievegalen and Altadesert. He next maintained possession of the two forts of Zoome and Antrim, of which he was governor, till the coming of Cromwell, when resistance became useless and impossible. He died in 1662, leaving one son, in whom the line was continued under the following circumstances:—The fifth lord died unmarried, and the title reverted to his uncle, who, having lived to a very old age, died without issue, when the next claimant to the title was Andrew, the grandson of Robert here noticed. He was at the time of his uncle's death but 12 years of age, and was removed to Scotland by his mother, during the war of the revolution. To him the title devolved, but he did not (as afterwards appeared) claim it, as the family estate had been "taken away by the lady Suffolk."* For the same reason his son did not think fit to claim a title to which they were quite aware of their right. And so the matter slept till 1774, when a petition from Andrew Thomas Stewart brought forward the claim, which was decided in his favour.

RICHARD BUTLER, THIRD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1651.

THE third viscount Mountgarret, having married a daughter of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was early led into connexions, of which in those times rebellion was almost the sure consequence. Lord Mountgarret was an active adherent to his father-in-law, and took arms in his behalf, at the early age of twenty-one. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Ireland had been but recently brought into even a comparative subjection, and the authority of the crown was but imperfectly defined, rebellion was yet looked upon with indulgence by the crown. The will of the sovereign stood in place of the even and irrespective execution of law,

* Andrew, uncle to Robert of Irry, and third baron, having a daughter, his only child, conveyed his estate to her husband, the earl of Suffolk.—*Lodge and Burke.*

and the award of policy or vindictive feeling was lenient or severe, according to the circumstances of the case. Chiefs who had not laid aside the pretensions of kings, and who had the power of maintaining these pretensions to a troublesome extent, were looked on with indulgence: their gratitude conciliated, their turbulence overlooked, and their outbreaks controlled and pardoned. Thus it was, that in the latter end of the sixteenth century, great rebellions, which covered the land with blood and fear, passed away without effecting those forfeitures of life and land which so soon after became their certain consequence. Much indeed, as the historian may feel at the passing away of illustrious families of ancient time—his sense of expediency and justice must tell him, that the peace of society and the vindication of the law by which order subsists, is more important still; and in looking upon the operation of a system of civilizing change, essential to the future, but attended with immediate disadvantage to a few, he cannot without an abandonment of every true social principle, wish it had been otherwise. The institution of just and equal law, on the one only principle upon which human caprice, the errors of uncertain policy, and the fierce and constant workings of those latent springs of disorder by which every class is pervaded can be controlled, must ever depend on the certainty, that the law cannot be violated without the forfeiture of those rights of which it is the security.

During the long life of the lord Mountgarret, the state of Ireland was widely changed. The laws of England had been established to the full extent that such a step was practicable. Their administration necessarily subject to great abuses, was yet productive of vast amelioration in the condition of the people. Had they been much sooner enforced, the consequences must have fallen with lamentable severity upon the aristocracy of the land, as their full operation must have visited with extreme penalties a large class who had attained to imperfect notions of the difference between right and wrong. But from the rebellion of Tyrone, the mind of the Irish aristocracy had rapidly expanded, and the various letters and documents of the Irish nobles of every class exhibit no deficiency in the constitutional knowledge of the age. Ireland had made a step in advance, which does not seem to have ever been thoroughly appreciated.

The rebellion of Tyrone did not, with all its bloodshed and widespread devastation, materially alter the condition of men who for their private ends had caused the death of thousands, and overwhelmed the country with waste and famine. In 1599, we find the lord Mountgarret a lord of the pale, defending the castles of Ballyragget and Coleshill against the queen's forces, and in 1605 he receives the special livery of his estates, as if he had been in the meantime a student at the temple, or serving under Carew or Mountjoy. From this his name is for some years lost in general history, but being a person of active habits, he was probably making himself useful in preserving order, and introducing improvement in his own immediate vicinity. In the parliaments of 1613 and 1615, his conduct was prudent, and attracted the approbation of king James. This seems confirmed by the fact, that in 1619, he had in consideration of loyal services, a con-

firmation of all his estates, with the creation of several manors, and various lucrative and valuable privileges.*

On the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, he was joined in commission with the earl of Ormonde, for the government of the county of Kilkenny, and upon the earl's removal to Dublin, the county was entirely committed to his charge.

A rumour had however been sedulously propagated, that the government entertained designs hostile to the Roman catholic lords of the pale. This inauspicious rumour was diffused by the agents of the leading persons and parties, who were at the time engaged in maturing the outbreak which so soon followed: it was loudly affirmed by Moore and his associates, and much favoured by the suspicious conduct of the lords-justices. A concurrence of untoward circumstances originated, and kept up a misunderstanding, which every word and act on either side confirmed. The aristocracy of Munster and the Roman catholic lords of the pale, equally fearful of the popular leaders and distrustful of the government, beset with surrounding dangers from revolutionary conspirators, a plundering and lawless populace, and a circumventing and iniquitous administration, quickly perceived that their safety must depend upon their strength; it was quite apparent that to sit at ease as indifferent spectators would not be permitted by either party. Accordingly, these noblemen, early on the appearance of rebellious indications, offered their services; and among others, lord Mountgarret offered to raise a thousand men, to arm them at his own expense, and command them against the rebels. The offer was not accepted; the lords-justices in their terror, ignorance, and in the narrowness of their bigoted policy distrusted these noblemen, and the consequence of their distrust was that they would neither employ them against the common danger, nor allow them to protect themselves, but acted towards them with an arbitrary and inconsiderate exertion of authority, which conveyed insult, and seemed to menace danger. Having first put arms into their hands for the defence of their families and the pale, they next recalled those arms, and summoned them to appear at the castle. These lords had powerful inducements to draw them into rebellion, and were strongly urged to that perilous course by the nature of their connexions. Nevertheless, with the more than doubtful exception of lord Mayo, they had kept apart from every overt manifestation of a disaffected character, and strenuously asserted their adherence to the king and the government, until it became too evident that the only proof they could give of their loyalty was to stand unprotected between two hostile powers. To be the first victims of rebellion, or be received on the doubtful footing of distrust by a government, of which the previous conduct had been such as to prove they were not themselves to be trusted. To give effect to these circumstances, rumours were in active circulation on both sides. Among those who were impressed with the notion that it was the design of government to extirpate the Roman catholics, lord Mountgarret was one; he has himself furnished an exposition of his own motives, we here extract it with some corroborative

* Lodge, iv. p. 52.

statements from Archdall. The letter to the earl of Ormonde runs thus:—

“My lord.—Since I have been forced in this general cause by the example of some, as innocent and free from infringing of his majesty’s laws as myself, who have been used in the nature of traitors, I forbore for avoiding your displeasure, to acquaint you with my proceedings and other motives therein: but now, for fear of being mistaken by the state concerning my loyalty, and presuming of your lordship’s favour and good meaning towards me, I make bold to send you here enclosed, an exact remonstrance of those principal grievances that have procured this general commotion in this kingdom; where-with I shall humbly desire your lordship to acquaint the lord-justice and council, to the end they may by a fair redress of them, prevent the fearful calamities that doubtless shall ensue for want thereof. It is not my case alone, it is the case of the whole kingdom; and it hath been a principal observation of the best historian, that a whole nation how contemptible soever, should not be incensed by any prince or state, how powerful soever, as to be driven to take desperate courses, the event whereof is uncertain, and rests only in the all-guiding power of the Omnipotent. This has been most lively represented by the French chronicler, Philip de Comines, in the passage between the duke of Burgundy and the Switzers. I will not press this matter further, (a word is enough to the intelligent,) and I cannot harbour any thought of your lordship, but that you are sensible of the miseries of this kingdom, whereof you are a native, and do wish the quiet and tranquillity thereof: I do, for a further expression of my own sincerity in this cause, send your lordship here enclosed my declaration and oath, joined with others, which I conceive to be tolerable, and no way inclining to the violation of his majesty’s laws, whereof I am and always will be very observant, as becomes a loyal subject, and

“My lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“MOUNTGARRET.

“*25th March, 1642.*”

To this letter of lord Mountgarret’s, we add Archdall’s comment:—

“In confirmation hereof, it appears from the deposition of Willian. Parkinson of Castlecomer, Esq., that so little was his lordship’s inclination to take up arms against his majesty, that Walter Butler of Poolestown, Walter Bagenal of Dunleckney, and Robert Shee of Kilkenny, Esq., were the chief instruments that made him do so; and so high was the insolence of those rebels grown, that the deponent had read a petition of one Richard Archdeane, captain of the Irish town of Kilkenny, and the alderman of the city, directed to the lord Mountgarret and his council, desiring (among other things,) that Philip Parcell of Ballyfoile, Esq., his lordship’s son-in-law, might be punished for relieving the protestants. Also, the titular bishop of Cashel, Tirlagh Oge O’Neile, brother to the arch rebel Sir Phelim, and the popish citizens of Kilkenny, petitioned the rest of the council of Kilkenny, that all the English protestants there should be put to death; whereunto Richard Lawless in excuse answered, that they were

all robbed before, and he saw no cause that they should lose their lives; and at divers other times, where it was pressed that the English should be put to death, the lord Mountgarret with his son Edmund, and his son-in-law Parcell, by their strength, means, and persuasions, prevented it."

Having made this representation, which we believe truly to represent the case of the Roman catholic lords of the pale, Mountgarret advanced with a large train of his connexions, and of the gentry of the county, and seized on the city of Kilkenny, where he publicly declared the motives of his conduct. He then issued a public proclamation, commanding his followers to respect the life and property of the English inhabitants. By his influence and personal vigilance, he gave effect to this order, and prevented the commission of those crimes which it must have demanded much authority and watchfulness to repress.

It is now quite apparent that though such a distinction could not then have been noticed, and though it did not practically appear for a long time after, that this rebellion was composed of two parties, distinct in their character, principles, and motives, though combined by a common direction and common hostility to the Irish government. The native chiefs and their immediate party, whose aim was as we have fully explained to recover the lands and power of their ancestors, revenge injuries real or supposed, and root out the English name, authority and religion: at the head of these was Sir Phelim O'Neile. And secondly, the Roman catholic nobles, of whose motives Mountgarret may be here offered as the representative. These parties are not more distinguishable by their characters and declared motives, than by their entire conduct. The party of Sir Phelim, unconstrained by any principle but the passions which led or drove them from crime to crime, were formidable for their butcheries of the unarmed; their exploits in the field were few and doubtful, and a few regular soldiers never failed to overmatch their utmost numbers. On the other hand, the war assumed a military character under the command of Mountgarret, Castlehaven, and other lords of their party, presenting a formidable front, fighting desperate battles in the field, and abstaining from butcheries and massacres, perfidious stratagems and treasons under the pretext of every falsehood. So determined was lord Mountgarret for the prevention of crime, that finding it difficult to impress the people with any sense of respect for property, he showed an effective example by shooting Mr Richard Cantwell, a gentleman of great influence, and a friend of his own family, when he saw him joining in plunder. Such in the beginning is the traceable division in this long rebellion, which, as it proceeded through many desolating years, split into so many armed and mutually hostile parties.

Having seized Kilkenny, lord Mountgarret sent out his parties to secure other towns in the surrounding country; and in one week, he was master of nearly all the towns of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary. Waterford submitted to his son Edmond Roe Butler; this city had shut its gates a month before against the Wexford rebels; Butler was received with willingness. No violence was here committed on life or goods, no one was disturbed; several protestants

expressed a desire to depart, and they were permitted to take their entire property, without question. Callan and Gowran were at the same time and as peaceably secured. Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were seized by Butler of Kilcash, second brother to the earl of Ormonde, in a manner so orderly and free from violence or plunder, as seemingly to deprive rebellion of its horrors. The impression made by this unusual conduct upon the surrounding country, led in one instance at least, to a dangerous confidence. Theobald Butler, the baron of Ardmaile, seeing the facility with which places were to be taken, privately assembled a large gang of his own people, and proceeded to take possession of Fethard. Hackett, the sovereign of the town, suspecting nothing, without any hesitation admitted him with a few friends; he was seized in his own house, and the keys of the town taken by Butler, who let in his undisciplined rabble to the number of a thousand, with clubs, pikes, and skeans. There were nine English in the town, these were seized and confined, and their entire property collected and shut up in the castle. Happily, the account of this transaction came to the ears of lord Dunboyne, who the next day came and dispersed the rabble, and restored the Englishmen to their freedom and property. They were then sent off to Youghal, and other places at their own choice. Of these, two were protestant clergymen, one Mr Hamilton, was sent to the countess of Ormonde, by whom he was protected with his family; the other (Mr Lowe, vicar of Cloyne,) made a less fortunate selection. He made it his desire to be conducted to the house of a Mr Mockler, who was his landlord, in the vicinity. He was under the delusive expectation that the rebellion would presently pass away, and that there was no occasion to remove far from home. He was kindly received by Mr Mockler. Some little time after, Mockler had occasion to go to Clonmel, and Lowe, for what reason is not known, accompanied him to Fethard. On parting company, Mr Mockler trusted him to the protection of a Mr Byffert, a person who was considered safe. At night, a carpenter of the name of MacHugh, with some others, attacked him in his bed, murdered him, and carried him out in the quilt to the bridge of Crompe, where they threw him into the river. Mr Mockler and Mr Byffert had an active search for the murderer, and MacHugh was soon caught and committed to prison. He escaped, but thinking himself safe in the general license of the time, returned and was again seized, on which he confessed the murder and was executed.

From such enormities this part of the country was kept comparatively free, by the humanity and firmness of the noblemen who headed the rebellion there. The Tipperary gentlemen and those of the surrounding baronies, met in the beginning of January, to consult upon the means of raising an army. It was agreed that every gentleman should raise as many cavalry and as well equipped as they could; that these levies were then to be formed into regular troops, and their pay provided for. Lord Skerrin was chosen lieutenant-general, and the command in chief offered to lord Mountgarret. He took the command, drew together a large body of men, and marched into Tipperary, where a junction with lord Skerrin placed him at the head of

nearly eight thousand men. To these, additional numbers were added under different leaders from the county of Limerick.

Lord Mountgarret, at the head of this numerous but not well appointed force, held on his way towards the county of Cork. He sat down on the way before the castle of Cnockordane, which quickly surrendered on capitulation. It is a frightful feature of the history of this rebellion, that it is thought necessary by the historian to assure us emphatically that the capitulation was "honourably observed."*

Having entered the county of Cork, he was observed by Sir William St Leger, who did not think fit to attack him, but desired a conference. This was a *ruse de guerre*. While Sir William kept the rebel lord in conference, he contrived to have his arms and military stores removed from Doneraile and other *depots* in the vicinity, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Lord Mountgarret now appeared to have the whole country at his disposal, when an obstacle on which he had least calculated arose. Lord Fermoy, whose influence in this county was as considerable as that of Mountgarret in his own, refused to submit to his command, and was supported by all the principal gentry of the county. On this lord Mountgarret turned and marched back to Kilkenny.

It was thought, and we cannot doubt it, that this incident gave a turn to the rebellion. Had lord Mountgarret at the time pursued his own success, there was nothing to resist him, he must have seized on Munster with all its places of strength, and would have been in a condition to follow up the same course all over Ireland, before the capricious and grudging hand of government would or could have raised any sufficient defence. The gentry of Cork disagreed among themselves, and when the pretensions of Mountgarret were questioned, other pretensions were discussed, and, before any thing could be agreed, the efforts of St Leger, the Boyles, and the Barrys, began to be effective in putting the country into a defensible state; their raw levies were armed, disciplined, and inured to military hardships and privations, and the time for a combined opposition passed away.

It was in this interval that the siege of Drogheda already related, took place.

The next memorable incident of lord Mountgarret's history, is the battle of Kiltrush, within a few miles of Athy. He had taken a position near the bridge of Mageny, when the English troops under the command of the earl of Ormonde, were observed marching up at some distance. Mountgarret had his unbroken army of something above eight thousand men, commanded under him by lords Skerriu, Dunboyne and others, and the advantage of a peculiarly strong position. The movements of the English were such as to show that their commander was fully aware of the advantages of his enemy. The earl of Ormonde in fact had decided against the attack, but came to the resolution of passing on towards Dublin; he anticipated an effort to intercept his march, and for this he made his dispositions. These we shall relate further on. His troops had not marched far when lord Mountgarret saw his advantage, and came to the resolution of

* Carte.

not throwing away the occasion for a decisive blow; three miles further on there was a pass through which they must march, and there he determined to meet them. For this purpose leaving the enemy on the left, Mountgarret led his army round the bog of Killika, by which the pass near Ballysovanan was approachable by a short cut, and not being encumbered with baggage, it was his hope to secure the pass before the earl of Ormonde could come up. In the mean time the enemy was not idle, and a column of cavalry led by Sir T. Lucas, came onward at a brisk pace. After a couple of miles hasty marching, Mountgarret approached the pass, a low hill had for some time shut out the view of the English troops, and he had not perceived the progress they had made, his mortification was therefore great when he found that Lucas had outmarched him; the pass was seized, and he was forced to halt. He had yet the advantage of a strong position, and if his soldiers were to be trusted the enemy had nothing to hope from an attack, they could at best escape.

But the earl of Ormonde had little notion of such an alternative, his movements told of battle. He was drawing up his little army and making the most masterly arrangements at the foot of the hill, within two musket shots of Mountgarret and his people. It could be seen that he was sending off his messengers, and disposing his companies and his baggage in the places best adapted for their respective characters.

Seeing all this Mountgarret drew up his men in two divisions, rather with the design of maintaining his strong position, than of attacking his enemy; and while he was thus engaged, Sir C. Coote, and Sir R. Grenville, came up with their companies, and Sir T. Lucas took a position on the left of his position with the cavalry. These had no sooner fallen into their places, than the earl of Ormonde with his four companies came on to the charge at a rapid pace. Their approach was for a few minutes retarded, and they were thrown into some confusion, by an unexpected obstacle. When they had cleared about half the distance between them and the Irish, they came upon a hedge and a hollow way which obstructed their advance. They were however suffered to retrieve their order of attack, by moving round these impediments so as to form inside the hedge. The fight now commenced with a distant firing, which did no damage to either side. This had not lasted above half an hour when a gap was found at some distance in the hedge, through which Sir T. Lucas and Sir R. Grenville were enabled to lead the cavalry, so as to charge Mountgarret on the left. The Irish did not stand the charge, but turned and fled in great confusion towards the bog which lay at the foot of the hill; the cavalry which had been posted to protect their flanks, stood for another charge led by Grenville, on which they turned and joined their companions.

Mountgarret commanded in the right wing, which was composed of his best men, and yet stood their ground. Against these lord Ormonde led his troop of volunteers and three hundred foot commanded by Sir J. Sherlock; they fired several volleys as they came up the hill, which were received with steadiness; but as they were on the point of crossing their pikes, Mountgarret's best men turned

and fled over the hill for their lives, nor stopped to breathe till they reached the bog where they found their comrades.

In this battle Mountgarret lost seven hundred men, and as they were cut down chiefly in their flight, the loss on the other side was but twenty. After such a defeat, it is probable that he retained no great reliance on the efficiency of this unwieldy and undisciplined mob, which could be beaten against all possible disadvantages by a handful of soldiers.

He returned to Kilkenny, in the hope of effecting a more organized as well as extensive resistance. He was there appointed president of the supreme council organized in this year (1642), to methodize their proceedings and supply the place of government to the country. Of this we shall give a brief account in the next memoir, which may be considered as the commencement of a new chapter of events.

He did not however allow the civil station which thus enlarged his influence in a party, which at this time, as we shall hereafter show more at large, was fast attaining weight both in counsel and arms, to detain him from enterprise in the field. The insurrection had assumed a more specious character both from the accession of intrinsic advantages, and still more, from the occurrences of English history, which must at the time have had considerable effect in confusing the question of authority. When it became doubtful in whom was vested the powers of the sword and balance, rebellion must have assumed a fairer name, and lifted up a prouder front—another act of this bloody tragedy was now to commence.

On the 18th of March, 1642, lord Mountgarret took his share in the battle of Ross, between Preston and the earl of Ormonde. In the following year his name occurs in the capture of Borras. He was also with lord Castlehaven, and many other of the rebel lords, at the siege of Ballynakil. This siege commenced in November 26th, 1641; and is chiefly memorable for the extreme sufferings of the garrison and inhabitants, who were left to their own miserable resources, and held out with the most slender subsistence, and even without arms. At their surrender, upwards of one hundred and fifty had perished rather from want and disease, than the weapon of the foe. On this occasion, as on every other, lord Mountgarret is to be distinguished not less for his humanity, than for his attention to the relief of distressed protestants. The offices of humanity were at the time rendered difficult, by the continual increase of angry and fanatic passions. He did not long survive their termination. After his death, which happened in 1651, he was excepted from pardon by Cromwell's act for the settlement of Ireland in 1652. He was buried in St. Canice church in Kilkenny.

PATRICK, NINTH LORD DUNSANY.

BORN A. D. 1588—DIED A. D. 1668.

WE have already mentioned the conduct of the Roman Catholic noblemen of the pale, and the rash and unfair treatment by which they

were forced into rebellion. Among these, none other held a more respectable place than the noble lord whose name precedes this article. We however notice him here, not for any high prominence, either in his individual character, or for his achievements in peace or war, but as he merits commemoration for his humane and manly conduct during a time, and under circumstances of unparalleled emergency and distress. We also take the occasion which a brief and summary notice will afford, to insert a paper of his writing which may assist in elucidating and authenticating to the reader's satisfaction, some observations we have made, and more we shall hereafter have occasion to make on the conduct of the government in that period which must occupy our attention through this volume.

The reader is already acquainted with the history of this ancient family. The ninth lord Dunsany was born in 1588. He had not completed his ninth year, when, according to Lodge, his father died. We do not, of course, profess to comprehend the rule by which Mr Lodge has made the computation. But as he places the father's death in 1603, we should observe, that by the common method of reckoning, the young lord must have attained his fifteenth year. His mother was murdered on the 9th March, 1609. A female servant was executed for the murder; but some time after, a man who was condemned for some other felony, confessed himself to have been her murderer.

This lord Dunsany was present at the parliament in 1613. He was rated at one hundred pounds to the subsidy granted to the king in 1615. In 1617, he surrendered his estates, and obtained a new title by grant from the king, and a few years after obtained considerable additions to his estate in the King's and Queen's counties, and in Westmeath, in consideration of lands surrendered to lord Lambert in the north. His lordship bore an active part in the parliamentary proceedings of 1634.

We now approach the period in which he comes under historic notice. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1641, he promptly presented himself before the lords-justices, and offered his assistance for the suppression of the rebellion. The offer was not accepted. The lords-justices commanded him to go home, as they at that time did every other lord who was under the same circumstances, a Roman catholic, or not of their own immediate party. Lord Dunsany returned home for the protection of his family, and manned his castle—which soon became the refuge of the hunted and persecuted protestants—and even for the miserable and insufficient soldiery which was kept up in the county of Meath. Having made Dunsany castle a place of strength and security, he repaired with his family to his house at Castlecor, which he also strengthened in like manner for a general sanctuary for the persecuted and defenceless. While resident at this place, many occurrences put his courage, firmness, and humanity to the proof, and as they have been registered among the depositions of witnesses on their oath in courts of justice, may be regarded as permanent testimonials of his worth. During the siege of Drogheda, the Irish besiegers were highly discontented with the protection given by his lordship to the persons and property of the English; so much so that the people began to say that he kept a hornet's nest of Eng-

lish about him. On one occasion, a gentleman of the name of Crant, whose life appears to have been pursued with some inveteracy by his enemies, had taken refuge under the shelter of Castlecor. The noble lord was hardly pressed to give him up on various pretences, but refused to trust the assurances of those who sought him. He assured the most forward of these, that he would rather lose his own blood than betray any gentleman who fled to him for refuge. And shortly after, when it was necessary to remove the persecuted Crant from Castlecor, his noble protector would not trust him to a guard, but himself escorted him to Dunsany castle.

Notwithstanding this manly and beneficent conduct, lord Dunsany presently became himself the object of a most cruel, oppressive, arbitrary, and unmerited severity. On the 20th February the king's proclamation was landed, ordering the submission of the Irish lords and gentry, and saving the privileges and immunities of those who should within a given time come in. With this proclamation in his pocket, lord Dunsany, who had in no way transgressed, and whose family had been uniformly among the foremost in adherence to the crown, amid the troubles of every period, came to Dublin and offered himself before the lords-justices; he asserted his innocence, his reputation for loyalty, and the great hazards he had incurred thereby. The justices sent him to prison, and ordered an indictment against him on a charge of high treason; and, to render the case more secure, they ordered that his trial should proceed in the inferior courts, which then admitted of a greater variety of obscure resources, and were less within the daylight of the public eye. The means of corrupting the administration of justice were also various, and employed without measure or remorse by the official characters in the reigns of James and Charles: of this we have offered one flagrant case, and might have adduced enough to fill a volume, had such been our object. We here insert lord Dunsany's petition to the parliament, as containing a clear and authoritative account of these incidents of his life.

“To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. The humble petition of Patrick, lord baron of Dunsany.

“Showing,

“That after the prorogation of the session of parliament, held in Dublin in 1641, your suppliant repaired home expecting a commission with others, to parley or treat with the northern Irish, then in rebellion; but no commission issuing, and the rebels with great power and strength ruining and overrunning the whole country, posted to this city and addressed himself to the late lords-justices, informing them of the condition of the country, and craved their advice and aid; was, nevertheless, commanded home again, upon his allegiance, without any aid or help, to defend himself the best he could; upon which your suppliant repaired to Dunsany and manned that house, which became the only sanctuary for the distressed English and his majesty's army in that part of Meath, which he yet had kept from the malice of the enemy; and having so done he parted thence, and took his wife and children with him unto his house at Castlecorre, adjoining to the

O'Renys' country, and there likewise manned and maintained said house against the rebels, until the beginning of March following, and in the time of his abode there, did preserve both the lives and goods of a great number of English protestants, their wives and children, and from thence conducted them unto this city, to the great hazard of his own life, as many of them now in this city will testify, and did openly, in all the time of his residence in that country, protest against the rebellion and the movers thereof, dissuading many that would have gone into action not to go, nor to adhere unto the actors, and being no longer able to live there, about the time aforesaid, parted thence, and sent his wife and family, with such of the English as staid with them, unto Dunsany, by night, himself having taken another way unto this city, to tender himself unto the then lords-justices, which he did the 8th of the said month, voluntarily to satisfy them of the condition he lived in, and to acquit himself of either having heart or hand in that action, or in any sort adhering to the actors, by delivering the threatening letters sent him by the rebels, that they would prosecute him as an enemy, with fire and sword, if he would not assist them by sending men and means to the siege of Drogheda; which, rather than he would do, did hazard his life, in travelling by night out of all roads, there being several ambushes laid for him; and for his loyalty, had his own daughter, and his son's wife (being both great with child) stripped and sent home naked; and his said house at Castlecorre, after his parting, with all his goods and furniture, to the value of four thousand pounds, burned and destroyed. And although your suppliant did so voluntarily tender himself, upon the assurance of his own innocency with a desire to serve his majesty, was notwithstanding committed to prison, and after indicted as a rebel, when as the king, out of his wonted clemency, had published, in January before, under his royal hand and privy signet, a proclamation of grace to all that would lay down arms, and submit unto his mercy; of which your suppliant at the worst was most capable (of any,) in regard he was the first that tendered himself to his highness' service, and never took up arms against him, nor offended any, but relieved all that came in his way; and, after enduring eighteen months' imprisonment, his whole estate (except Dunsany) being destroyed by the rebels, was, by order of his majesty, among others, released, but was, though without order from his highness, bound over unto the king's bench, it being no proper court for his trial, and as yet standeth bound to appear there in Michaelmas term next, and so will be perpetually bound over in that kind, unless this honourable house takes some order for his relief. And for as much as your suppliant, being a member of this house, to have suffered in this kind, without your orders or privy, he conceiveth the same to be a great breach of the privileges of the house.

"And therefore humbly imploreth your honourable aid, and favour herein, by presenting his sufferings unto the lord-lieutenant general of this kingdom, and in the mean time, to admit him his place and vote in the house.

"And he will pray," &c.

The parliament was prorogued on the same day that this petition

was presented. And he obtained no redress till the restoration. A provision was then inserted in the act of explanation, by which the commissioners for the execution of that act were directed to restore to his lordship his seat, and one third of the whole estate of which he had been possessed on the 22d October, 1641.

This lord died in his 80th year, in 1668.

LETITIA, BARONESS OPHALY.

DIED A. D. 1658.

WE have already in our notice of Sir Charles Coote, had occasion to mention a remarkable instance of firmness and courage in the conduct of this illustrious Irishwoman. We did not then wish to digress to a sufficient extent, to insert the whole correspondence which occurred between her ladyship and her besiegers. It is no less illustrative of the time in which she lived than of her personal character, and may be advantageously read by any one who desires thoroughly to view the events and the social state of Ireland, in a period in some respects unlike that in which we live.

This baroness was granddaughter to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare, and only daughter of Gerard his eldest son, who died before his father. She was created baroness Ophaly, and was heir general to the house of Kildare, and inherited the barony of Geashill. She married Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, in the county of Warwick. Sir Robert died in 1618, leaving the baroness a widow with seven children.

With this family her ladyship lived in the castle of Geashill, in honour and respect with her neighbours and dependants, and like many noble and virtuous ladies who only require the occasion of circumstance to render them illustrious by the display of those high and generous virtues with which the Creator has so liberally endowed the gentler and purer sex, performing in contented privacy the duties of mother to her children, and of a kind and considerate mistress of her household and tenantry, until 1641, when the country fell into that disordered state, in which goodness and gentleness could be no protection. But the daughter and heiress of the Geraldines was also the inheritress of the fearless spirit of her race, and when the rudeness of that most degrading period suggested the hope of finding an easy prey in the feebleness of an unprotected lady, her brutal assailants met with a resistance worthy of commemoration in the record of history.

Geashill had in earlier times belonged to the O'Dempseys; and we find the name of four Dempseys among those who subscribed to the summons which the baroness first received from the rebels. On this occasion, Henry Dempsey, brother to the lord Clannmalier, with others of the same family, opened their proceedings with the following paper, of which the intent demands no explanation.

"We, his majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his highness's service, for the sacking of your castle, you are therefore to

deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle *resiant*, shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the non-yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor child, upon taking the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer, impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that here we brag. Your ladyship, upon submission, shall have safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired with all expedition, and then we surcease.

"Henry Dempsie; Charles Dempsie; Andrew Fitz-Patrick; Conn Dempsie; Phelim Dempsie; James MacDonnell; John Vickers."

To this summons, she returned this answer:—"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty's authority. I have ever been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety; and therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, I will do the best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God; and though I have been, I still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

"After two months," (writes Archdall) "the lord viscount Clanmalier brought a great piece of ordnance (to the making of which, as it was credibly reported, there went seven score pots and pans, which was cast three times by an Irishman from Athboy, before they brought it to that perfection, in which it was at Geashill), and sent another summons to her ladyship in these words:—

"Noble Madam, It was never my intention to offer you any injury, before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well known, if I were so disposed, you had not been by this time at Geashill; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies I have always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion; however, I did not thirst for revenge, but out of my loving and wanted respects still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for yourself, children, and grandchildren, and likewise for your goods; and I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them either to Dublin, or to any other of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election; and if you be not pleased to accept of this offer, I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house before I stir from hence; and if you please to send any of your gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous to confer thereof at large. And so expecting your speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

"P. S. Madam, there are other gentlemen now in this town, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in mine offer unto you,

"Lewis Glanmaleroe, Art O'Molloy, Henry Dempsey, Edward Connor, Charles Connor, Daniel Doyne, John MacWilliam."

To this letter, lady Ophaly sent the following answer:—

"My Lord,—I little expected such a salute from a kinsman, whom I have ever respected, you being not ignorant of the great damages I have received from your followers of Glenmaleroe, so as you can't but know in your own conscience, that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of mine own goods where they found them, and with them, some others of such men as have done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I was offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, I hope you have more honour than to follow their example, by seeking her ruin that never wronged you. However, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection from all those which without cause are risen up against me,

"Your poor kinswoman,

"LETTICE OPHALEY.

"P. S. If the conference you desire do but concern the contents of this letter, I think this answer will give you full satisfaction, and I hope you will withdraw your hand, and show your power in more noble actions."

After his lordship had received this answer, he discharged his piece of ordnance against the castle, which at the first shot broke and flew in pieces; but his men continued with their muskets and other arms to fire until the evening, when they took away the broken piece of ordnance, and marched off in the night; but before their departure, his lordship sent the following letter thus directed:—

"To my noble cousin, the Lady Lettice, Baroness of Ophaley.

"MADAM,

"I received your letter, and am still tender of your good and welfare, though you give no credit thereunto; and whereas, you do understand by relation, that my piece of ordnance did not prosper, I believe you will be sensible of the hazard and loss you are like to sustain thereby, unless you will be better advised to accept the kind offer which I mentioned in my letter unto you in the morning; if not, expect no further favour at my hands, and so I rest your ladyship's loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE."

To which my lady returned answer by one of her own men who was kept prisoner.

"MY LORD,

"Your second summons I have received, and should be glad to find you tender of my good; for your piece of ordnance I never disputed

how it prospered, presuming you would rather make use of it for your own defence or against enemies, than to try your strength against a poor widow of your own blood; but since you have bent it against me, let the blood which shall be shed be required at their hands that seek it; for my part, my conscience tells me that I am innocent, and wishing you so too, I rest your cousin.

“LETTICE OPHALEY.”

She was further menaced by Charles Dempsie, who wrote the following letter, with a design of sending it to her that afternoon, but being beaten out of the town, he was prevented, and it was found in one of the houses.

“MADAM,

“I do admire that a lady of your worth and honour as you conceive yourself to be, should in so regardless a sort, instead of matters of conscience in your letters, use frivolous and scandalous words, expressly nominating us your enemies *Glanmaleroe Kearnes*, and that, in that letter written this very day unto Sir Luke Fitzgerald desiring his assistance to the number of fifty men, which should quash and cashier us here hence, he being your enemy no less than we, secluding kindred, not prophaneness of religion. Nay, your ladyship was not formerly abashed to write to William Parsons, naming us in that letter unto them, a mixt multitude. Remember yourself, madam, consisting of more women and boys than men. All these letters before your ladyship shortly shall be produced. Both the messengers we have intercepted, together with your letters, and do detain them as yet prisoners, until such time as thereof we do certify your ladyship, which at the present we thought to do expedient. They are, therefore, censured to death, and this day is prefixed for their execution, your ladyship by your letters desires novelties. Hear then, Chidley Coote (correspondently to the intent of your letters to Parsons, coming to your aid), being intercepted in the way, was deadly wounded, ten taken prisoners, his ensigns taken away. One *Alman Hamnett's* man, if he come safe with his message, (as I hope he will not), will confirm this news. Had the character of these letters of yours been either Lloyd's or Hamnett's, that politick engineer and the adviser of quilllets, (by him that bought me), no other satisfaction should be taken but their heads; though, as the case stands, *Hamnett* lives in no small danger for manifold reasons.

“CHARLES DEMPSEIE.”

But notwithstanding all these menaces and attacks, she held out with great spirit, until fetched off safe by Sir Richard Grenville, in October, 1642, after which she retired to Coleshill.

RANDAL MACDONELL, EARL OF ANTRIM.

BORN A. D. 1609—DIED A. D. 1682.

OF the ancestry of the Macdonells we have already had occasion to take notice. The person we are now to commemorate is one of the many whom fortune rather than any inherent merit has made eminent, more by the conspicuous display of the ordinary passions and weaknesses incidental to our nature, than by wisdom, courage or virtue.

He was educated in England, where he early recommended himself at court by the specious attractions of person, manner, and imposing pretensions. These advantages were greatly improved by his marriage with the widow of the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by means of which he was enabled to appear with great splendour at the English court, and was introduced to the favour of the queen.

When the troubles in Scotland broke into war in 1639, this lord was forward to offer his services, which were accepted by the king, who was about to march into Scotland, against the covenanters with the duke of Argyle at their head. The earl was in the habit of speaking in lofty terms of the power and influence which he possessed in Ireland, and proposed to levy a considerable force of Ulster men, and make a descent on the Scottish Isles; over which he presumed that his own descent from the "lords of the Isles" gave him no small influence. He was thus to effect a diversion, so as to occupy the attention of the duke of Argyle on one quarter, while the king's army should make their approaches on the other. He was sent into Ireland to make his levies; but whatever service might have been thus effected by a more discreet and capable person, Antrim was utterly devoid of all the essential qualifications. His very forwardness to embark in a great design appears to have been but the effect of the want of all conception of the real difficulties to be encountered, and like many sanguine and shallow persons he was rather actuated by a blind self-confidence than by any distinct conception of his design. His imposing language which deceived the king, and it is probable himself, had little weight with the penetrating and masterly intellect of Strafford, then the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Besides other objections, which we here omit, to his plan, Strafford on conversing with the earl at once discerned his entire ignorance of military affairs, and his incapacity for any service that needed forecast, prudence, discretion and experience in the conduct of affairs. The earl had, he found, entered upon an extensive and hazardous undertaking without any consideration of the means by which it was to be effected, and strongly remonstrated against both the project and the man. But Antrim's friends at court were all powerful at the time; the weighty influence of the queen was exerted for him, and the earl of Strafford was strongly pressed by the king to forward the undertaking. On this, every thing was put in train, and every assistance was given to the earl of Antrim; the organization of his army was projected and officers appointed, and emissaries were sent off to the Isles to concert a rising with the Macdonalds. After all this pomp of pre-

paration, it was but too apparent that the earl had overrated his power in the north; he was only enabled to attend the king's expedition with a force small in point of number, but fortunate in not being put to the proof. The English and Scottish armies having come in sight of each other, the king was prevented by his generals, who had no great wish to fight for him, from offering battle; and the reputation of Antrim was allowed to continue untarnished for other trials.

After the treaty of peace (signed on this occasion), the earl accompanied the king to Oxford, and returning to Ireland sat in the parliament 1640. After this he continued to live in Ireland, sustaining the character for which he was by nature best fitted, by magnificent and popular hospitality, until the growing troubles rose to a height incompatible with the peaceful pomps and vanities of life. His countess was compelled to take refuge in England, and again filled a distinguished place in the favour of queen Henrietta and her court. The character of the earl was assailed by the scandalous aspersion of having joined with the rebels, but this malicious charge was repelled by the strong testimony of Parsons, who was the witness of the harmlessness of his deportment in Dublin. In the commencement of the rebellion, his lordship is honourably to be distinguished for the humane and active assistance he gave to the distressed protestants, whose condition was then more deplorable than it afterwards came to be in the further stage of the war. Nor can we trace his lordship in any overt proceeding of a political tendency, till the spring of 1642, when having visited his property in the north, he was probably worked upon by the enthusiasm of his own dependents to form high expectations from the favour of the northerners. With the facile and prurient inflammability of a warm fancy and over-weening self-confidence, he at once began to reckon on the effects of his own authority and influence, by which he hoped to convert a rebel multitude into a royal army devoted to the interests of king Charles. In this expectation he was doomed to meet with disappointment; the rebels were pleased at the accession of a name so well suited to give speciousness to their favourite pretence of royal authority. But they saw easily through the ostentatious and feeble spirit that tried in vain to assume an ascendant over their minds. He was indeed too good for them, and too incapable either of going the whole length in atrocity which they uniformly sought in their leaders, and without which no one long continued to have any authority among them; neither had he the craft necessary to temporize, or to suppress his own temper and opinions. Disgusted with their cowardly massacres, which fell entirely on the unarmed and defenceless, upon whom they wreaked vengeance for the severe and often too sweeping justice of military judges; he was loud in the expression of his horror, and condemned their entire conduct, in a tone that plainly manifested an entire unconsciousness of all their peculiar objects and passions. He was prompt and liberal in relieving the distressed and hunted protestants, and it was but too plain that however desirable the accession of the rebel army might be to his lordship's private views, he was not exactly the person they wanted. An instance of his meritorious activity in this character occurred during the time when Coleraine was besieged by the Irish army in 1641, when he prevailed with the Irish officers

so far as to allow the people of the town to graze their cattle for three miles round; and was permitted to send in large supplies of corn to the starving inhabitants.

The earl failing to turn the rebels to his own purposes was not induced to embrace their motives or adopt their cause. So far from this, he raised a regiment of his own tenantry; but these plain proofs of loyalty were not in these uncertain times sufficient to protect him from becoming the object of suspicion. Monroe having entered the county of Antrim, considered the reports which had circulated of his commerce with the rebels and the fact of his being a papist, sufficient excuse to commit an outrage upon him not unworthy of Sir Phelim O'Neile.

Dunluce castle was the stronghold and residence of the ancient family of M'Quillan, the ancient chiefs of that district, and it was as leader of a Scottish army that the ancestor of the earl of Antrim had expelled these ancient proprietors, and obtained possession of their rock and domain. Here the earl was residing when he received a visit of seeming compliment from Monroe, the general of the Scottish force in Ulster. Monroe was welcomed with all the frank hospitality, and entertained with all the splendour of his generous but unobservant host. The entertainment was not well over when the signal was given, and the astonished earl seized and hurried off a prisoner, while the castle and domain were plundered by his cold-minded and plotting captor.

He was so fortunate as to escape from Monroe and fled into England, where he waited on the queen at York. It was at the time when the king's friends were labouring to procure a cessation of arms in Ireland; Antrim was, as was natural to him, soon led to put forward his notions of his own efficiency to promote this design, and was presently sent into Ireland with instructions; but he was taken on his landing and imprisoned by Monroe in Carrickfergus, where he lay for some months, his enemy all the time drawing his rents and remaining master of his whole possessions, without the slightest heed of the king's letters to command restoration. Once more the earl succeeded in escaping from his enemy and reached Oxford again, December, 1643.

It happened then, as is known to the reader, that the marquess of Montrose was endeavouring to raise an army to create a diversion in Scotland, so as to draw back the army which had marched into England, and was at the time in treaty with the parliament. Antrim was consulted, and engaged "that if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it to Scotland, and would himself be at the head of it; by means whereof, he believed all the clan of the Macdonells in the Highlands might be persuaded to follow him."* To this a ready consent was given, and the king by privy seal created him marquess of Antrim, 26th January, 1644.

The marquess with his characteristic disregard of circumstances, adopted the means which must be admitted to offer some specious advantages for his purpose. His conduct was in principle the same which had on the previous occasion, already mentioned, involved him in the proceedings of the rebels; but circumstances had widely

* Lodge.

changed, and the confederates of Kilkenny might well be assumed to be sincere in their allegiance against a common enemy. Rebellion had changed sides: a confusion of parties had now arisen which admitted of the utmost latitude of construction, and it must have appeared to the marquess a happy expedient to take the oath of association and become a member of the supreme council of Kilkenny. The device had the common justification of such measures, and it was successful. By the favour of the council he was enabled to raise 1500 effective men, whom he sent to Montrose under the command of colonel Alexander Macdonell; and who distinguished themselves very highly in all his battles.

The next appearance of the marquess is in 1647, when he was with two others sent by the council of Kilkenny to the queen and prince Charles, to desire that a lord-lieutenant might be sent to govern the country. The marquess of Ormonde landed soon after and concluded a treaty of peace, but Rinuncini being, as the reader is aware, pertinaciously opposed to peace; he was joined by O'Neile and the marquess of Antrim.

In 1651 he appears engaged in Cromwell's party and in his pay; he is mentioned at this time to have received £500 a-year from him, which was afterwards, in 1655, increased. This liberal allowance appears to have been for no other purpose but for the use of his influence in the north, and for the countenance of a name. His active services were not required, and he took no decided part on the parliamentary side: his own motive was probably no more than to save himself by a passive acquiescence; while, considering the party with whom he had to deal and the weakness of his own character, it is equally to be presumed that he was as useful as was in any way desired to Cromwell. This connexion did not prevent his using his best exertions to serve the royal cause. When the prince came into England he supplied him with arms and ammunition, and after the battle of Worcester assisted in procuring ships for his escape.

On account of these services, he afterwards obtained the restoration to his estates by the act of settlement. He was twice married, but had no children, and when he died in 1682, he was succeeded by his brother.

As we are now to enter upon the events which lead to, or are contemporary with the revolution of 1688, we shall in this, as in the memoirs which immediately follow, endeavour to pursue, as nearly as possible, the onward progress of events; and to avoid needless repetition, we shall, whenever it may be necessary to retrace our steps, recur to incidents already commemorated, as briefly as can be made consistent with clearness. It may be convenient to the reader to be apprised that in this and the memoirs immediately following, we mean to dwell at some length upon the incidents principally leading to the revolution. The remainder of this period, though replete with event, is little marked by illustrious characters; and our subjects are selected, more

with a view to the relation of the momentous and interesting train of incidents which constitute a *marked era* in the history of England and Ireland, than for any claim which the *persons* whose names must head these memoirs have upon our pen.

A. FORBES, EARL OF GRANARD.

BORN A. D. 1623—DIED A. D. 1695.

THE family of Forbes seems to be of Scottish descent: and like most others, is territorial, being derived from For-bois (the outer wood), the ancient form of the name, and of that of the lands near Aberdeen granted by Alexander the Second, where they long resided.

In 1622, a younger branch of this family, Sir Arthur Forbes descended from Patrick Forbes of Carfe, was with two other gentlemen of the same name (who were perhaps his brothers,) naturalized in Ireland, and received grants from James I., in the counties of Longford and Leitrim.

This person married a lady of the family and name of Lowther, and had issue, Arthur, the subject of this notice. He was in his eighteenth year at the rebellion of 1641, and could not therefore be much more than an anxious witness, or at most, a very subordinate actor at that fearful time, when he had not long entered the military service as an officer of cavalry. His mother was besieged for several days in Castle-Forbes, the residence of the family, and the siege is memorable for the valour and firm endurance which was shown in it, as also for the brutalities committed by the besiegers. The tenants of the estate, with those of lady Longford and Sir John Seaton, having been plundered and burnt out of their houses by the rebel party, crowded into Castle-Forbes for protection. Thither their persecutors quickly followed, to the amount of five hundred; and, relying on their own numbers, commenced a regular siege. They built themselves huts within musquet-shot of the walls, seized on the stock, and made several desperate assaults, in all of which they were valiantly repulsed. But not discouraged by these, they made a nearer approach, building within pistol shot and making trenches close under the walls, which they were thus enabled to annoy with a perpetual and harassing fire, by which many of the people within were shot through the windows. After some time they obtained possession of the well, from which the besieged obtained their supply of water, and contrived by a horrible expedient to render it useless: seizing a Scotchman, whom they caught in an attempt to enter the castle, they ripped open his belly and threw him into this well. The sufferings of the people and family within soon became unendurable for want of water, until they found a remedy for their distress by digging thirty feet into the ground within the bawn, and thus obtained a supply when nearly reduced to extremity. In this distressing condition matters went on until all the provision was consumed; and the lady Forbes gave her horses, which did not last very long; and the cow-hides were next attacked by the famishing, but brave and patient crowd, who bore

every privation and peril without murmuring. Lady Forbes, with lady Seaton, who had also taken shelter in the castle, wrote letters to the besiegers to entreat permission for some of the poor people that were within to go out and eat grass and herbs; they were answered, that "they would keep them in till the ravens did eat their guts." It was idly fancied by some of the poor people who had taken refuge within the walls, that their children might be permitted to go out unmolested to feed on the grass abroad, and under this delusion, two children were sent out. But the mistake was quickly ended, the children, eager for food and ignorant of the danger they incurred, went out without fear, and perhaps happy to feel themselves free; they had not proceeded many steps when they were fired upon by the reckless desperadoes, whose concealment they approached: one fell dead, the other was wounded. Immediately after, a poor woman, whose husband had fallen into their hands, went out with the devoted courage of her sex to beg his life—she had three children, of whom the youngest was at the breast—the mother and her sucking child were slain, with one of the elder children, but the other escaped. At last, after much negotiation, lady Forbes obtained terms. The rebels were so anxious to obtain possession that they were glad to obtain it at the expense of their revenge, though upwards of eighty of them had been shot from the castle walls during the siege. They permitted lady Forbes, with two hundred and twenty persons to march out with their wearing apparel and arms to Trim, which town they reached in safety, but after great hardships by the way; and from thence they escaped to Dublin.*

During the commonwealth, Sir Arthur Forbes adhered to the royal cause, and served in Scotland against the parliamentary troops, when they were commanded by Monk, from whom the royalists sustained a defeat, and were soon reduced. On this he returned to Ireland, where he was permitted, in accordance with the articles to that effect, between Monk and lord Lorne, to enjoy his estate if not disposed of. And as it appeared that he was quite unconnected with the rebellion in Ireland, his lands in the counties of Longford and Leitrim were restored.

When the Restoration was beginning to occupy the expectations of the country, Sir Arthur was sent by Coote to king Charles to invite him into Ireland. He was received with the utmost kindness as a known supporter, and dismissed with such commissions for the Irish loyalists as he had been directed to demand in case of the king's refusal to come in person.

His subsequent commissions during the long interval of broken rest, in which it was vainly endeavoured to restore the nation by settlements and commissions, we must here be content to enumerate from Lodge. After the restoration, he was appointed among the commissioners of the court of claims for the execution of the king's declaration, which appointment was repeated 1662. In 1661 he was returned to parliament for Mullingar. In 1663, when a conspiracy was formed for the seizure of Dublin, and several other towns, as already related

* Archdall.

in this volume,* Sir Arthur discovered, and by his great alertness and vigilance frustrated the intentions of the conspirators in the north, having seized and imprisoned Staples member for Derry, who was the leading conspirator; upon which the soldiers returned to their duty, and the remaining conspirators took refuge in Scotland. In 1670, Sir Arthur was sworn of the privy council, and appointed marshall of the army: he was allowed £687 8s. 4d. per annum pay, and a retinue of one trumpeter and thirty horsemen; in addition he was allowed £600 per annum secret-service money. In 1671, and again in 1675, he was appointed to the then high dignity of one of the lords-justices of Ireland; and in the last-mentioned year, he was created baron Clane-hugh and viscount Granard.†

After many services and honours, unnecessary to mention here, he was in 1684 raised in the peerage to the dignity of earl of Granard, and lieutenant-general in the army. In which post king James II. allowed him to continue; but difficulties soon arose in the execution of his duties as one of the lords-justices, which caused him to apply for his dismissal.

In our memoir of the duke of Ormonde we have already had occasion to notice the circumstances which indicate the secret course of the policy of king Charles and his brother, afterwards James II. The brothers were both Roman catholics—Charles in secret, James without reserve: the former was in truth of no religion; but the latter was not only sincere but bigoted in his faith, and a zealot to the church of his adoption. Charles, though indolent, averse from business, and still more so from the clash of creeds and parties, easily comprehended the impossibility of reconciling the English people to a popish king, and during his reign kept up a decorous reserve by the help of the natural indifference and insincerity of his nature. He shrunk from the conflict to which the duke of York and his priests were constantly endeavouring to urge him; and while he lived, though it is now easy to discern the early course of the political events which afterwards hurled his family from the throne, yet in point of fact the contest was not begun, nor is there any cause to predicate that he was likely to be seriously disturbed in his profligate and licentious reign, unless it be considered that as he grew older and more indolent, other counsels of a more determined character were beginning to assert their sway, and the duke of York, more zealous and active, though far less prudent, had actually commenced his career. Ireland was not without reason considered to be the safest ground to begin upon, and long before the period at which we are now arrived, lord Berkeley had been sent thither for the express purpose of preparing the way for the duke's objects, by the depression of the protestants and the gradual substitution of the papists, both in the army and in every post of power, influence, or emolument, in which it could be safely effected. Such changes were all through the chief means of operation resorted to, with a few bold attempts to effect a revolution of property, which, had they been successful, would have led by a shorter and safer path to the desired result.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde.

† Lodge.

The conduct of Berkeley was impelled by his secretary Leighton, a creature of Buckingham's, who was sent over for the purpose of watching over and directing his administration; he was also attended by many influential papists from England, who were the judges, councillors, and spies of his actions: he was himself fully disposed for the prescribed course, and his measures were bold and decided, without scruple, or even a prudent regard to caution. Not content with favouring the church of Rome, he selected the extreme party of that church as the objects of his especial favour.

Among the clergy as well as the laity of the Romish communion in Ireland, there was at this time a division of opinion on the important question as to the authority of the pope in the secular affairs of the kingdom. One party acknowledged the king to be the supreme lord of the kingdom of Ireland; and declared or admitted that they were bound to obey him notwithstanding any sentence of the Roman see to the contrary. In conformity with this profession, a declaration was drawn up by Peter Walsh, a Franciscan, and signed by one bishop and several clergy of the Romish communion. Walsh, who was commissioned by the ecclesiastics of this party to express their sentiments to the king, drew up this declaration, which became famous under the title of the "Irish remonstrance;" it gave rise to the designations of both parties which were called remonstrants and anti-remonstrants, and was strongly framed to obviate the great and permanent objection to the toleration of popery as inconsistent with the constitution of a protestant government: it disclaimed all "foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." In addition to this, it expressed the resolution of the remonstrants to resist and discover all conspiracies against the king, and went indeed to as full a length in support of the divine and indefeasible right as might have conciliated the favour of James I.

But the grandchildren of this monarch, who were not less tenacious of that slavish principle, had a still more anxious object at heart, and were little likely to countenance any declaration which might appear inimical to the authority of the see of Rome. The duke of York felt that neither himself nor his royal brother had any concern in the allegiance which might be considered due to protestant princes. On the contrary, their present object demanded the opposite impression, to be industriously diffused; all their difficulties and all the unpopularity with which they had to struggle, were mainly owing to the ascendancy of protestant opinion and influence. They were therefore little likely to acquiesce in a declaration which they regarded more as a tribute to their enemies the protestants than to themselves. They were also well aware, and the suggestion is worth the reader's notice, that the rights of kings and the actual power of the crown were more in danger from the free opinions of protestantism, than from any interference on the part of Rome. Such appears to us to be a clear and self-evident explanation of the treatment of the remonstrants, and of the novel part taken in this contest by the English court. Under the name and external forms of protestantism, a popish monarch sat upon the throne,

and an heir presumptive of the same communion saw the prospects of his succession altogether dependent upon the success of his efforts in behalf of his church.

Strong counter declarations were soon got up, and a violent contention between the parties ensued. The duke of Ormonde, who approved of the remonstrance, had no objection to the promotion of a controversy, which served to divide and divert the spirit of the Romish church. But the scene was changed by the arrival of lord Berkeley, who not only took part with the anti-remonstrants, but made the vice-regal power subservient to their passions, by persecuting their opponents. Peter Talbot, Romish archbishop of Dublin, taking advantage of the disposition of the castle, obtained possession of the vice-regal ear, and persuaded Berkeley that he had unlimited power in Ireland, and that all the designs of the court factions would be effected without difficulty by the aid of himself and his party. He was not only permitted to celebrate a mass in Dublin, but accommodated with the plate of the castle by secretary Leighton. The remonstrants were quickly taught to feel the strength thus acquired by their adversaries, and vainly petitioned for protection. Their petition was intrusted to the duke of Ormonde, and by the interference of this great man, the lord Berkeley was instructed to protect them; but it is also probable that he received a private intimation which led him to disregard the injunction; for, exclaiming against the interference of Ormonde, he said that he should in future regard all instructions in favour of the remonstrants as coming from him, and pass it by without any notice.

Among the most evident indications of the purposes of the king's or rather the duke's party, were two which we shall find uniformly and consistently followed throughout—the granting of magisterial commissions to the papists, and their admission into the corporations: two steps, *at that period*, as directly subversive of the English interest in Ireland, as it is possible to conceive. It may at first sight appear difficult to some of our readers to see why, as forming a large portion of the people of this island, they should be debarred from offices which seem merely to imply an equality of civil rights. We must make a few observations on this important topic. In the abstract, unquestionably such exclusions are unjust: nor can any country in which they exist be considered as advanced to a high state of constitutional perfection. Such exclusions will, however, seldom be found to maintain their existence long, unless when they are rendered indispensable by the civil state of the country. And such was then the case of Ireland. This will be easily admitted by any impartial person who will recall the object of perpetual contention in this country, that it was not the civil equalization of parties but the restoration of an imaginary ancient state of things, of which the direct and immediate consequence must have been the utter prostration of the English, who were in point of fact the nucleus of civilization in Ireland. It was not equalization, but ascendancy, that was looked for, by a party in whose hands ascendancy must have become the establishment of a most degrading tyranny at home, together with the admission of a foreign jurisdiction. For the exclusion of the papists from civil equality, it was enough that they were actually under the unconstitutional, slavish, and arbitrary juris-

diction of Irish leaders, and of their priests—of which the first sought to wield the democracy for their own ends, and the second for the ends of the see of Rome. No power should be suffered to command the populace in opposition to the constitution without strong checks, even in a republican state; but in a growing country it was evident ruin to depress the thriving, wealthy, and informed classes under any pretext. In these observations the reader must perceive that we have confined ourselves to reasons purely political: the reasons here noticed are only those by which the more respectable portion of the papists were then influenced; for their cause was one with that of the Irish protestants—property law, and civilization, against disorderly and destructive cupidity, armed with the brute force of the (then) ignorant and demoralized multitude. It was not then, as is sometimes misapprehended, to exclude the members of the Romish faith from any fair privilege that they were excluded from certain civil rights: it was the consequence of their admission that was seen and guarded against. But we shall have to recur to this topic a little farther on.

The demolition of these just barriers against foreign and popular encroachment, was, as we have observed, a sure and unequivocal sign of a conspiracy against the constitution as it then stood, and the indications thus discoverable demand the more to be distinctly observed, because the whole task of the historian from the commencement, will be mainly to trace the progress of their effects, as they brought on the subversion of that ancient and corrupt system of arbitrary government, of which it was attempted to use them as a last support. The main cause of these effects, is, it is true, to be sought in the history of England, as this country was but the scene of a preliminary trial of strength and preparation; here the battle commenced and ended. In our next memoir we shall take a brief and summary view of its progress in England. These few remarks, which we shall presently have occasion to illustrate and extend, may serve sufficiently to put the reader in the possession of the leading characters of the policy which commenced the contest, and to explain the conduct of the eminent person of whom we now write.

In the year 1685, Forbes was, as we have already mentioned, joined with primate Boyle in the office of lord-justice. The time was one of extreme perplexity, as the designs, which we have been describing, were far advanced. The party which it was the policy of James, now seated on the throne, to depress, was grown discontented, alarmed, and suspicious; that to which they had been sacrificed, insolent, exacting, and exorbitant in its pretensions, and pressing forward to have all its objects carried with a high hand. Boyle and Granard were unanimous in their zeal for the maintenance of the English interest, though there were in their opinions sufficient differences to have held them asunder in ordinary times: while Boyle was zealous in the support of that church in which he was a ruler, Granard was the great patron of those shades of protestantism which dissented or maintained a worship and discipline separate from the established church of England; he had obtained five hundred pounds a-year from government for the presbyterian teachers in the north, and married a lady of presbyterian opinions. On that account he was at first the object of

strong suspicion to his reverend colleague, who was not perhaps wrong in the supposition that he was selected by the government to counteract any leaning on his own part to the church, and to divide the protestant interest. If such was the design of the English Council, it undoubtedly added one more to the long and tortuous tissue of errors in which it was involved. Ignorant of the true nature and operation of the dissent subsisting in the protestant churches of Ireland, it was not aware that the central principles of a common faith must, in the moment of extreme danger, combine the protestants of all denominations, which are united by those principles, for their common protection. And so it was at this time found: Granard, whatever may have been his private views, united sincerely with Boyle. They acted, nevertheless, with exemplary caution and moderation, as well as firmness. Receiving from the fears or designs of either party daily information and reports, equally unfounded, they dismissed them all, and were tempted or terrified by no imaginary inducement or fear from holding a calm and steady rein on both. In their determination to maintain the protestant interest, nothing in fact was more necessary than to ward off those gross and palpable injustices which the fear or zeal of the crowd will always be ready to exact. The earl was at last, however, compelled to give way to a power which was not to be repressed by any consideration short of its main object. He was pressed by his council, who were mere instruments of the English court, to authorise Roman catholics to commit any person without bail: he requested to be dismissed. The government was reluctant to take such a step, as his influence among the presbyterians was very great, and his appointment was considered to be a restraint upon himself also. The king therefore wrote him a letter to assure him that he would not do any thing injurious to the protestant interest. Nevertheless it immediately appeared so very visible that this assurance was thoroughly false, and had no view but the deception of the earl, that he soon found himself forced to act with the most decided firmness, to prevent himself from being made instrumental against the protestants; and entering with decision into their interests, he was dismissed in 1685 from his post of chairman to the council.

The remaining history of his life must be here briefly dismissed: as it contains nothing of sufficient importance to draw us into an extensive anticipation of the train of events into which we are presently to enter.

In 1690, the earl was sworn of the privy council to William III., and, in the following year, distinguished himself before Sligo, by the prudent dexterity which caused the garrison to surrender to the forces under his command and those of colonel Mitchelbourne. In the following year he took his seat in parliament, and was one of the committee appointed by the peers to present their address of thanks to the king.

He built a church at Castle Forbes, and promoted the linen trade there.

He died "in or about" 1695, and was buried at Castle Forbes.

RICHARD TALBOT, EARL OF TYRCONNEL.

DIED 1691.

The life of Richard Talbot is an essential portion of the history of his period, and, though apart from this consideration he would possess but feeble claims on the pen of the biographer, yet the history of his career may serve to afford a strong illustration of the effect of revolutionary periods, in raising the obscure to rank, fame, and public importance, without any aid from the possession of great talents or virtues. When wisdom and virtue are elevated to station and command by the dispositions of that power which overrules the tide of events, by the emergency which often sets aside for an instant the ordinary agencies of society, or by the accidents of wealth and exalted rank, they will undoubtedly win the homage which is their righteous meed: partly because the world is always ready to bow down before success, however won; and partly because men are more just in their judgments than pure in their actuating motives. The avowed conventions of society are in favour of goodness,—every popular vice must wear an honourable mask, and when bad men receive the praises of the multitude, it is not for the vices by which they are earned. But, after all that can be said, the fame of true wisdom and genuine goodness is rather a conquest over, than a consequence from, the moral influences actually operating on the world; it is an extorted concession hardly wrung, and, as in the case of the duke of Ormonde, too often followed by a long and lasting wake of detraction: while, on the other hand, base servility, whether to the humours of the people, the will of the despot of the hour, or the prejudices of the age, will rise wafted by all the influences which are at work in the ferment of human corruption: and will have a royal road of greatness, or, at least, notoriety. Between the two conditions we have thus contrasted, there is all the difference between stemming the tide, or floating with it. And there is another moral lesson which the same contrast is adapted to convey, whether it is sought in experience or the page of history: that true greatness of character will most frequently be found standing equally apart from the blind and fierce impulses of public opinion, and from the profligate venality of courts. In each of these *extremes*, there is a perpetual effort of usurpation, and an equal ignorance of the real rights of man, as well as a most strange unconsciousness of the true *locus* of that centre of moral and intellectual gravitation in which the actual power of civilized society resides, and its true balance is to be found. We should gladly extend our remarks on this most important, and much desiderated branch of moral science, but it is our business to display examples rather than enforce rules. The first duke of Ormonde has, we trust, afforded no doubtful example of a statesman who was equally inaccessible to the clamour of crowds or the corruption of tyrants, though true alike to the just claims and real interests of king and country, and assailed but too often by the ingratitude of both. In Tyrconnel, we here present the reader with a character remarkably illustrative of the contrast to these noble features.

Of the birth of Talbot we have not found any record, still less can we offer any notice of his early career; nor are these considerations such as to warrant the delay that they might offer in our narrative, which must derive its entire interest from the history of the time. We find Richard Talbot first in the historian's page the active advocate of the claims of the papists in 1662, and among the most forward and violent of those whom they sent to plead their cause in England; on which occasion he did more harm than good to the cause he was employed to serve, by his extreme want of prudence and moderation, and of all the qualities necessary for so difficult an office. If the reader should demand to what grounds we are to attribute a selection so injudicious on the part of his countrymen, we believe that, independent of the effect of mere violence to recommend the possessor to an angry crowd, Talbot was recommended by the reputation of his favour with the duke of York, into whose regard he had insinuated himself in the Netherlands before the Restoration, by a convenient and subservient attention, when attention and subserviency were harder to be met and of higher value. His devotion to the royal interests was shown, it is said, by an offer to assassinate Cromwell; and, after the restoration, his services were recompensed and his peculiar merits recognised, by the post of gentleman of the bed chamber to the duke of York.

His zeal in the cause he undertook, was increased by the early impression received in the course of the rebellion of 1641, and the terrors of the sack of Drogheda, left in his breast an abiding horror of fanaticism, which, in his narrow and worldly view, perhaps included all of religion beyond its forms and its secular associations.

In 1678, he was among those persons who were ordered to be apprehended on the accusations of the popish plot: but nothing to his prejudice having been discovered, he was permitted to leave the kingdom. From exile he was soon allowed to return, when this spurious excitement had subsided, and a strong reaction of popular feeling for a time gave strength to the actual machinations of the king's and duke's designs for the same end. On his return he lost no time in the exertion of his influence with the duke; and availing himself of his reputed knowledge of Irish affairs, he soon raised a fresh cloud of calumnies, doubts, and misapprehensions against the government of Ireland, then in the hands of the duke of Ormonde. The recall of this illustrious nobleman was the immediate consequence: Rochester was sent over with contracted powers; and the authority over military affairs, which till then had been committed to the lord-lieutenant, were now transferred to the lieutenant-general; which post was destined for Talbot.

Rochester, unwilling perhaps to go to Ireland, delayed his journey, and, in the mean time, a fresh and sudden change took place in the condition of affairs. The circumstances appear to be imperfectly understood: the king seems to have given way to those secret counsels in favour of Monmouth, which created a sudden coolness between him and the duke of York, of whose presence he endeavoured to rid himself by sending him to Scotland. The projected policy with regard to Ireland was entirely suspended, and matters remained there in a state of suspense, though aggravated by the increased animosity and the mutual accusations of parties.

Under these circumstances, while matters appeared not only to take a turn opposed to the duke's political designs, but even to menace his claim to the succession, the king opportunely died under circumstances impossible to be perused without some strong impressions of foul play. The duke was under a growing disfavour, and the earl of Rochester was on the point of being sent to the Tower, on a charge of official malversation in the treasury; and "a message was sent to Mr May, then at Windsor, to desire him to come to court that day, which it was expected would turn out a very critical day. And it proved to be so indeed, though in a different way."* The king was taken suddenly ill after taking "a porringer of spoon meat," which was made "too strong for his stomach," after which he had an unquiet night. The next day he was attended by Dr King, a chemist whom he had sent for concerning some chemical operations, upon which he was at the time engaged. When the doctor came, he was unable to understand the king, whose language was become suddenly so broken and incoherent as to be unintelligible. The doctor went out and reported this unusual circumstance to lord Peterborough, who desired him to return to the king: but he had hardly entered the chamber when the king fell down in a fit, which, for the moment, was judged to be apoplectic. The doctor then bled him, and he regained his senses; but still appeared so oppressed and stupified, that a return of the same attack was expected hourly. It was proposed to administer the sacrament to him, and he was addressed by Sancroft and Kenn, who, considering the real emergency of the occasion, spoke strongly to him of his sinful life: the king was meanwhile exhibiting in the presence of these reverend prelates a singular illustration of the life he had led, and of his awful unfitness to meet so sudden a call; for he was supported in the bed on which he sat by his mistress the duchess of Portsmouth. He was pressed to receive the sacrament, but resisted all entreaty till the duke of York sent for Huddleston, a favourite priest of his own persuasion: when this person had all things prepared for the purpose, every one was desired to leave the room but the earl of Bath and Feversham, when the sacrament according to the ritual of the Romish communion was administered with extreme difficulty, as the king was unable to swallow the wafer. After which, the company being re-admitted, the king "went through the agonies of death" very decently, according to Burnet: now and then complaining of being burned up within, but still commanding his sufferings enough to deliver his last injunctions to the duke, in favour of his favourite mistresses Portsmouth, and Nell Gwyn; and to give his blessing to those present, who fell on their knees to receive it, which seems to have been carrying the farce of court obsequiousness as far as can well be conceived. And thus king Charles II. died. In addition to the slight incidents which give a suspicious character to these circumstances, one far more unequivocal remains to be told. Poison was suspected by some of the physicians: and when the body was examined, great care was taken to divert the attention of the medical men present, from the stomach, which was not suffered to be examined; but while means were taken to divert and

* Burnet's Own Time.

interrupt the spectators' attention, it was suddenly put out of the way; but not before doctors Lower and Needham observed "two or three blue spots on the outside," from which their inference was evidently of an unfavourable nature. "Needham," says Burnet, "called twice to have it opened," but the operators pretended not to hear; and he heard a murmur amongst them when he repeated the call. Le Fevre, a French doctor, observed a blackness on the shoulder; and Short, whose creed encouraged him to speak his suspicions more freely, "did very much suspect foul dealing," and was soon after taken ill after drinking a large dose of wormwood wine given him by a patient, and died, expressing his opinion to the physicians who attended him, that he was poisoned for having spoken too freely of the king's death! These incidents may easily be overrated; yet it is not to be neglected that they are reported upon the authority of those who were least likely to be deceived; and whose inferences were the most likely to be grounded on a just appreciation of the actual circumstances. After having composed his history, Burnet received a very curious account from a Mr Henly, of Hampshire, of a conversation this gentleman had with the duchess of Portsmouth, who expressed herself as if she thought the king had been poisoned; and on being further pressed, she mentioned that she had always pressed his majesty to set himself at ease with his people, by coming to an agreement with his parliament; that he had made up his mind to follow this advice, and as a needful preliminary, resolved to send away the duke. These purposes were to have been carried into effect the day following that on which he was taken ill. She having been aware of these particulars beforehand, mentioned them (with an injunction of secrecy perhaps,) to her confessor: it was her impression that this person mentioned them to others, and that they thus went round through the parties most interested to prevent the king's designs by any means. This account, it must be observed, seems to coincide with the facts, so far as they are known, and account as well for the sudden interruption above mentioned in the Irish arrangements as far as the king's sudden death.

The licentious profligate, whose prudence, when fairly alarmed, might have led him to recall his steps and retrieve the fortunes of his race, was succeeded by his shallow and bigoted brother on the throne. Sincere and earnest in the principles he would have maintained, inflated with a false notion of the power and rights of kings, incapable of any sense of public rights, or not conceiving the real force and character of public opinion and national feeling, he tampered with these dangerous elements with a feeble and inadvertent hand, until they exploded, to the destruction of his house, and the subversion of the infirm and tottering pillars on which it stood.

Among his first acts was the reparation of that broken tissue of fraud and despotism, by which he had fondly hoped to effect his favourite purpose. The recall of the duke of Ormonde was confirmed with circumstances of gratuitous harshness; and having publicly avowed his adherence to the church of Rome, he prepared to pave the way for the restoration of the papal dominion in England by the completion of its triumphs in Ireland. The mere report of his favour went before his acts, and heaped fresh fuel in Ireland upon the flames of party

contention and fear. The Irish papists were naturally eager to avail themselves to the fullest extent, of a revolution which appeared to be working in their favour. The notions of the day with regard to civil rights were crude, loose, and unsettled. The various territorial arrangements which had been taking place since the great rebellion, by which lands and claims had appeared to be shifted by arbitrary awards and decisions with a meteoric uncertainty, had tended to this effect, as well as the continued interpositions of government, by stretches of prerogative and special enactment, rather than by ascertained ordinances and jurisdictions. With the understood sanction of the king, sudden impulses of popular feeling became more violent in the effects which they produced: the party animosity or alarm, as well as the ambition and cupidity of turbulent and designing partisans, were at once in arms, and all who looked for any advantage rushed with characteristic impetuosity to their object. The papists were animated not simply by the desire of obtaining political ascendancy—they were also governed by an ardent thirst for revenge: nor, considering human nature, do we consider the statement to their prejudice; for they were only obliged to look on the policy of which they had been the subjects, according to the principles they held; and if we abstract that stern and stringent policy from its own most imperative reasons, it could not fail to be regarded as oppressive. The time was now seemingly at hand for the assertion of their civil and ecclesiastical principles, and for seizing upon the ascendancy, which every party will not fail to usurp when the occasion offers. The restoration of the forfeited lands was expected to follow that of a communion, which the fondness of popular credulity now conceived to be the ancient faith of the land; and this expectation gave its usual excitement to the eagerness of the fresh impulse then communicated. The proceedings of council and their enactments appeared tardy to the popular zeal, and the departure of the duke of Ormonde to Dublin was the signal for a universal influx of the party, thus roused into life and hope. The alarm thus excited was increased by the selection of officers appointed by the English council. They were, it is true, protestants; for the king was checked at every stage of his rash course by the advice of persons more cautious than he; but they were generally supposed to be selected for dispositions likely to promote the royal aims: Boyle (until tried) was supposed to have a leaning to popery, and Granard being the zealous patron of the presbyterians, would thus, it was presumed, be not unlikely to lead to a division of the hostile camp. These impressions were indeed, as we have already noticed, soon found to be erroneous.

The rebellion of Monmouth, quickly suppressed, gave the king a pretext of which he gladly availed himself, to accelerate his operations. The Irish militia, embodied by the duke of Ormonde and composed of protestants, was by his orders disarmed, and the measure was rendered specious by rumours of a protestant insurrection, for which there was much cause, but no disposition. It was immediately after this act that Talbot was raised to the peerage by the king, and the act was approved by the loud applause of his party. The clergy of the church of Rome addressed the king, to petition that he would send over

the earl as lord-lieutenant, with plenary power to restore them to their rights and functions; but the king or his advisers felt that such a step would yet be precipitate: there was danger in suffering the too rapid advance of his policy in Ireland to expose its real design in England, where some degree of caution was, even by the infatuated king, felt to be necessary. The character of Talbot was rash and unmoderated by judgment. On this account it was judged safer to steer a middle course, and the earl of Clarendon was sent over. His near connexion with the king, and his zealous profession of loyal principles, together with his ignorance of Ireland, recommended him as a safe person to quiet suspicions and allay the disturbances, which, having been raised by intemperate eagerness, might lead to premature results. Clarendon began by congratulating himself in his public speech to the council on the quiet state of the country. He was ere long undeceived: the disarming of the militia had been productive of disorders unknown for many previous years in Ireland; the bands of plundering bonaghts which they had kept down, soon overspread the country with murders and robberies, and it was found necessary to restore, to a considerable extent, the arms which had been taken from the protestants.

The appointment of Clarendon was nothing more than the mask devised to cover the approaches of the grand attack—to quiet alarm and baffle the observation of England, which was now looking on these transactions with jealousy; but the zeal of James was too earnest for the slow and temporising methods which prudence would have demanded. A more long-sighted and dexterous politician would have shunned the precipitate course, which, producing its effects without mature preparation, is sure to terminate in a dangerous reaction. He would have known that no state of things is so perfect, that it may not be speciously undermined under the pretext of remedying its evils and repairing its defects; and that the measures by which these useful ends may be seemingly approached, are but instruments to be used according to the will of those who devise and govern their operation. A well feigned zeal for the protestant constitution of the kingdom, might easily have been reconciled with the demonstrations of a just and humane regard for the civil prosperity of their brethren of the Romish communion; and while by slow and cautious forbearance, the fears of the country and the discontents and jealousies which were gradually fermenting into an organized existence, might have been dissipated; the political forces of the nation, and the moral prepossessions which are sure to follow their direction, might have been worked round in the course of a few years, to a point at which resistance would be ineffectual, and the power attained well and widely rooted, and have sent out its fibres wide and deep through every institution and source of civil life. But neither James, nor the zealots by whom he was secretly impelled, nor the Irish party who were to be the vanguard of the struggle he was about to commence, had the patience for political manœuvring. The pliancy of Clarendon was to be associated with the fierce and unscrupulous resolution of Talbot, who was created earl of Tyrconnel, and sent over as lieutenant-general of the Irish army, and invested with all the powers over that efficient branch of the Irish administration, which had till then been an essential power

of the lord-lieutenant. Talbot was, as King remarks, "a person more hated than any other man by the protestants," he had been named by Oates as the person destined for the very employment now committed to his hands, and the remark circulated, that if "Oates was an ill evidence, he was certainly a good prophet." Tyrconnel entered upon his new office with ferocious alertness, while his first care was to new-organize the army; for this purpose he omitted no means, and suffered no sense of humanity or regard for the claims of right or honour to stand in his way. His sudden and violent steps were aggravated by insolence, and debased by dissimulation. "In the morning he would take an officer into his closet, and with all the oaths, curses, and damnations which were never wanting to him, he would profess friendship and kindness for him, and promise him the continuance of his commission, and yet in the afternoon cashier him with all the contempt he could heap upon him. Nay, perhaps, while he was then caressing him, he had actually given away his commission."* From the same historian we learn, "as for the soldiers and troopers, his way with them was to march them from their usual quarters to some distant place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to the greatest hardships, and then he stripped them, &c., &c."† Thus turned out of employment, and stripped, these unfortunate men had to return home in the condition of paupers across the country. This was but a small portion of the evil inflicted by the same act. The soldiers by whom these were replaced, were selected for a purpose, and governed by impressions little favourable to any end but the insolence and disorder into which they launched at once. Raised for the understood purpose of aggression, they did their worst to exceed the purposes of their employer. Tyrconnel's orders, as the orders of the worst administration will commonly be, were couched so as to present the sound at least of civil right; it was simply ordered that all classes of his majesty's subjects should be allowed to serve in the army. Tyrconnel better understood the spirit of his employer, and went straightway to his end. He gave open and peremptory directions, that none should be admitted but members of the Church of Rome.

The consequences of this innovation were some of them immediate and deplorable. The change thus violently effected was not more remarkable for the ruinous and inhuman dismissal of the existing corps of the army, than for the indiscriminate admission, in their place, of the most unqualified and the most vile. Tyrconnel, whose object it was to carry his purposes with the rough and strong hand of violence, and to ruin as well as to depress, had no scruple in the adaptation of his instruments to his ends. The dregs and offscourings of society, robbers and adventurers, poured into his ranks, and incapable of discipline, continued to pursue their lawless vocations under the countenance of authority. Of their general conduct, King gives the following account:—"The new-raised forces and officers, being put into arms and command to which they were strangers, into good clothes, and mounted on horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the insolence common to such sort of men when unworthily

* King.

† Ibid.

advanced. They every where insulted over the English, and had their mouths continually full of oaths, curses, and imprecations against them. They railed on them, and gave them all the opprobrious names they could, and if any chastised them for their sauciness, though ever so much provoked, they had the judges and juries on their side; they might kill whom they pleased without fear of the law, as appeared from Captain Nangle's murdering his disbanded officer in the streets of Dublin; but if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer, as captain Aston found to his cost, &c." King further continues his description of the constitution of the new force. "The non-commissioned officers were obliged without pay, to subsist their men, as they termed it, for three months,—a thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better sort of their captains and inferior officers had been footmen or servants to protestants. One gentleman's cow-herd was made a lieutenant, but he would fain have capitulated with his master, to keep his place vacant for him if his commission did not hold. Most of them were the sons or descendants of rebels in 1641, who had murdered so many protestants. Many were outlawed and condemned persons that had lived by torying and robbing. No less than fourteen notorious tories were officers in Cormack O'Neale's regiment, and when forty or fifty thousand such were put into arms, without any money to pay them, we must leave the world to judge what apprehensions this must breed in protestants, and whether they had not reason to fear the destruction that immediately fell on them. They saw their enemies in arms, and their own lives in their power; they saw their goods at the mercy of those thieves, and robbers, and tories, now armed and authorized, from whom they could scarce keep them when it was in their power to pursue and hang them; and they had all the reason in the world to believe, that a government that had armed such men of desperate fortunes and resolutions, was so far from protecting them, which is the only end of all government, that on the contrary, it designed to destroy both their lives and fortunes. The latter of which, as will appear by the sequel, they have in a manner entirely lost."

Upon an arrangement so fatal to the civil state of the country, the reasons given at the time offer a sufficient comment, the plenary power of the king to select his servants, will now demand no reasons on any side; but the excuse that the "Protestants would not concur with the king's intentions," and that there was therefore "a necessity of dismissing them," and that the permission to plunder the protestants was a necessary encouragement to raise an army, without which the king had nothing to trust, were the remaining pleas thus publicly and generally maintained, and the topics of controversial discussion between the writers and debaters of either party; they show clearly the bold and thorough-paced character of the agents and their aims, and render all their Irish acts clear from any ambiguity. The similar attempts to pervert the courts of justice to similar ends, must be viewed as the consistent prosecution of the same policy, in a country, from its imperfect civilization and continual disorder, subject to the irregular influence of every civil authority, and every power regular or irregular; the bench, always an organ of civil

administration capable of the most extensive influence, was particularly adapted to be converted into an instrument of tyranny. The barrier, apparently so wide and insurmountable, between judicial integrity and the accommodating subserviency of the place-man, is in reality no hinderance to the worst imaginable perversions, so long as the place-man can be elevated at the will of courts and bonded to their purposes. King James made short work of the matter by a summary removal of three judges, in whose places he substituted others. Sir Alexander Fitton, a person in all respects unworthy of the trust, was made chancellor; and, arrogating for his court a power above the laws, he accommodated it to the purpose of his appointment. The same method was applied to the common law courts, with the same success. Nugent, Daly, and Rice, three lawyers only recommended by their obsequious devotion to the dictates of the castle, were made judges, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of lord Clarendon, then lord-lieutenant. We think it now unnecessary to observe, that we consider the unfitness of these appointments not to consist in the creed of these men, but in their personal unfitness, and the party end of their election. It needs not to be urged that a person of any communion, having the principles of a gentleman, integrity and honour, could not be warped into the subserviency of which these persons are accused; but such persons were unquestionably not the instruments of king James's designs, or of the measures by which he pursued them—measures which it is to be observed, were censured even by the pope as impolitic and unjust. The only remaining fastnesses to be assailed were the corporations, upon which mainly depended the civil strength of the English; these were assailed with the same measure of consideration and justice, as the army and the bench. This attack was carried through with his characteristic violence. Clarendon being found quite unsuited for the thorough measures required, was recalled; and Tyrconnel, by the influence of the earl of Sunderland, to whom he agreed to pay a share of his salaries, appointed lord-deputy in 1687. He went to work with the civil as he had done with the military departments. He demanded from the Dublin corporation a surrender of their charter; they petitioned the king, and received an insulting repulse. By a most infamous mockery of justice, they were ejected by a *quo warranto* brought into the court of exchequer, which was the court in which the whole business of the king was done. The whole of these infamous proceedings may be found in great detail in the "*State of the Protestants of Ireland*," by archbishop King, a contemporary and a looker on, whose testimony cannot reasonably be objected to, on the ground either of insufficient judgment or means of observation, as he stands incontrovertibly at the head of those, who can be named eminent for high attainment or ability in his generation; and the querulous accusations of prejudice brought sometimes by very incompetent judges against his representations, are gratuitously unfounded, and would be unworthy even of the passing comment of a sentence, but that every word dropped in the support of party clamour derives some weight from the passions and the ignorance of the crowd who are concerned in public affairs.

"To prevent writs of Error into England," writes King, "all these

quo warrantos were brought in the exchequer, and in about two terms judgments were entered against most charters." For this purpose, all the lowest and most paltry chicanery was resorted to. It was endeavoured to find the corporators guilty of illegal acts, but in this design the instruments of James were totally frustrated. The principal pleas which were effectively resorted to were entirely technical, and consisted for the most part of quibbling objections to the form and wording of the charters. Some corporations were betrayed into surrender by the agents of their head landlords. Of this, the borough of Athy is mentioned by King, which thus fell a victim to the agent of the earl of Kildare. It is needless however to enter at length upon the curious history of the various artifices or tyrannical means made use of in this proceeding; for the most part they were even ridiculously unfair. It may generally be observed that the general principle adopted was to adapt the forms of law to the utmost extent to which they could by any stretch of language be made available, and when this was either impossible (an unlikely case to occur; for the reach of sophistry is unlimited,) or where some advantage was to be gained by more direct injustice, it was directly resorted to without any scruple. The only obstacle which indeed offered itself to the sweeping and resolute career of civil change, arose from the pressure of the party itself. The eager and inflamed zeal of the popular party quickly took flame at the prospect of a triumph. The intellect of the community, unenlightened to a degree not easily comprehensible from any thing now existing, was soon inflamed to the point of fanaticism. The people interpreted the intentions of their leaders, as the people ever will, according to their own prejudices, and in consequence were ready to rush to the results they expected and desired. Seeing the protestants oppressed, persecuted, and unceremoniously ejected from their rights, they joined impetuously in the violence with which they were assailed, and every street was disturbed with brawls arising from violence or insult attempted against those on whom the government was employing its whole arsenal of persecution.* The persons as well as the rights of the persecuted party were insulted, and every injury committed which the sense of impunity was likely to encourage.

The government also, was no less unsparing in its outrages upon the rights of individuals, than on those of public bodies, and in these latter far less form was required; it was the maxim of the king, and the continual text of his agents, that he "would not be a slave to the laws," and Ireland was the selected scene for the trial of this right. Here the laws were daily set aside by a dispensing power, and we could offer flagrant instances of robberies perpetrated virtually by the king under the pretence of this right. "If he had a mind to any thing, he sent an officer with a file of musqueteers and fetched it away without considering the owners."† In the pursuance of his purposes, neither public nor private rights were allowed to have any weight. Private property and patent offices or privileges were treated with less ceremony

* If any one should consider the representation here made as savouring of a party spirit, we may refer to the accounts which we have given of the rebellion of 1641, as clear evidence of the contrary.—Ed.

† King.

than the public character of corporate bodies had required. Instances are unnecessary, but the reader may be gratified by a few. The chancellor of the exchequer was turned out to make room for Rice the instrument of the crown; Sir John Topham, and Sir John Coghil, were turned out of their masterships in chancery. Of the persons thus deprived, few had even the privilege of a hearing; and they who had, were called before the chancellor, who on a private hearing dismissed them without further ceremony. It is however unnecessary to dwell further on this state of affairs; our sole object being to convey some general impression of the character of James's policy in this country.

Indeed, among the many circumstances which either tend to characterize or authenticate our view of this policy, there is none more unquestionable in the construction or the evidence it offers, than the fact that it had not the sanction either of the more moderate or the more respectable of any party. The court of Rome censured its folly and cruelty. Dr Macguire, the primate of the Roman church in Ireland, joined the better portion of the aristocracy and clergy of that communion in a strong remonstrance addressed to the king, to whom they represented that Tyrconnel's violence had only been directed to awaken a universal terror and indignation, and that he had displaced the protestants to no other end than to excite discontent and spread distress and confusion through the country.

Even here it is perhaps right to admit that some attempts were made to keep up some such shadow of justice as the purpose would admit of; one-third of the new corporations were allowed to be protestants, but this arrangement was so contrived as to convey no protection, the protestants were cautiously chosen from the quakers and other dissenting classes, who were at the time least likely to make common cause with the Church of England. The same was the method pursued with regard to the courts of justice; one protestant judge selected for those qualities which should have excluded him from the bench, sat with two of the church of Rome, and thus preserved the appearance of equal and indifferent justice.

While these attacks on the protestants were going on, it was not to be expected that the great seminary of the protestant church in Ireland was to escape its share of persecution. Before Tyrconnel's arrival, the king sent his mandate to the university, commanding the admission of a person named Green, as professor of the Irish language, and that he should be paid all arrears of the salary. It is needless to say that there was no such professorship, and thus the first attack was baffled. After Tyrconnel's arrival, a more determined effort was to be made; seeing that nothing was to be hoped from the fear or subserviency of the university, more violent means were to be used. One Doyle, a pretended convert, was named to be a Fellow in virtue of the king's dispensing power, but his utter unfitness was shown, so as even to confound Tyrconnel himself; the college, however, would have been overruled on this point, but the oath of supremacy which Doyle feared to take, was a surer ground of defence, and on a hearing in which every point was strained in his favour, the case was given up. The enemies of the Irish protestants did not however suffer their purpose to be

thus defeated. The chief means by which the University was then supported, was a government allowance of £388 per annum; this resource was stopped: such a proceeding was at the time nearly equivalent to a suppression of the university: it was soon followed up by still more summary proceedings. The learned body, to which, independent of all consideration of their main function as subsidiary to the church, Ireland was so much indebted, were expelled from their walls, and a garrison quartered in their room. The soldiers vented their fury upon the walls, and mischief to the amount of £2000 remained to be afterwards repaired by the university. The plate, furniture, and all property, private or public, were seized for the king; the scholars were persecuted, and prohibited on pain of death from meeting together to the number of three. The same course was pursued with all protestant schools, whether of public or private foundation. From this, the next step was the seizure of the churches, and the sequestration of all vacant benefices and bishopricks.

The sheriffs every-where appointed for the same purpose, and selected for the same qualifications, went beyond the intent of their employers in oppression and spoliation, and the country sounded with universal outcries against them, and the effects they quickly produced. The civil and military officers of the crown were leagued to plunder and oppress by all means which lay within their several vocations. A consequence, which, in the eagerness of fanaticism and cupidity had been lost sight of, occurred to aggravate the shock which the kingdom thus received; commerce, chiefly in the hands of the protestants, was utterly destroyed. This mischief is the more to be noticed, because it was not the mere result of the king's eager hostility against the protestants, but an avowed expedient for the general depression of the kingdom: for it was a well-known maxim, openly avowed by this feeble, though violent and wrong-headed bigot, that the depression of the people and the abatement of national prosperity, were the only security for the power of the crown. The scheme for the destruction of commerce involved every portion of his majesty's dominions, but it was considered a prudent caution to begin this unworthy operation upon the vantage ground of Ireland.

This country had, as we have already had occasion to state, suffered considerable shocks in the late reign, which had much disturbed its progress. Till the cruel and insane enactments against the exportation of Irish cattle, there had been a uniform consideration for the advantage of Ireland in all previous commercial enactments and regulations concerning trade, and no distinction had been made between the two kingdoms. For a long time this island had indeed fortunately escaped the attention of the commercial part of the English community, owing to the limited scope of commerce itself; and the kings of England, who mostly felt their own interest in the advantage of Ireland, were allowed to use their discretion. But when the country gentlemen had acquired general notions on the political interests of the country, they naturally fell into many errors, from false reasoning upon a subject of which the extent and difficulty had not begun to be appreciated. Hence arose the commencement of those commercial restrictions, so long injurious to this country. But king James and his culpable advisers delib-

erately adopted their ruinous policy, without any regard to any consideration but the increase of the royal power. In pursuance of this design, it was at the time affirmed by those who were supposed to be in the king's counsels, that he had determined to suffer the English navy to fall into decay, that the French might grow great at sea, and thoroughly destroy the trade which increased the wealth and promoted the insolence of his British subjects. It was at the time a cant among the royal partisans, that the king "could not have his will" of the people by reason of their wealth, and he could not himself forbear occasionally expressing himself to the same effect. It was openly reasoned by his officers that "it was more for the king's advantage to have his subjects poor than rich; for, said they, you see how willing the poor Irish are to enlist themselves soldiers for twopence a-day, who know no better way of living: but it were impossible to bring the rich churls of England (so they usually called them) from their farms, and shops, and such terms, to serve the king. They further alleged, that the poverty of the generality of France is the reason that they are so willing to be soldiers, and makes them so easily maintained when they are enrolled."*

The trade of the kingdom was, as we have stated, chiefly in the hands of protestants, and this gave an added reason for its destruction, so powerful, as to have in some measure thrown all others into comparative neglect. The protestants not entering into the general views of the king, drew from a sense of their own importance to the welfare of the kingdom, a fallacious hope that they might still receive protection. They soon were undeceived. They were quickly repelled and driven out of the kingdom by oppressions and injuries of which the following are chiefly enumerated as leading to this disastrous consequence: in the towns they saw the lowest persons, many of whom had been either their menials, or in some such way dependent on them, raised over their heads into situations which gave them that power to insult and injure, which the base and low will never be slow to use to the hurt of those who have been their superiors: the great and destructive exactions consequent upon the elevation into sudden authority of persons who had no money, and who were therefore necessitated to repair this want by extortions, under the pretext of taking goods on credit: the customs were also used for the purpose of ruining trade; the duties were raised by discretionary valuations, so that the merchant was often compelled to pay treble duties. There was another grievance, more circuitous in its operation, but not less destructive in effect:—the whole coin of the kingdom, which was short of the revenue, circulated once a-year into the treasury: from this, great care was taken that no part of it should be paid into protestant hands: and it was generally impressed on the members of the church of Rome, that they should deal exclusively with each other. Of this it was the consequence, that no one would deal with the protestants unless on credit, and that without any design to pay. They were similarly oppressed by the officers of the army, who took whatever they wanted by force when persuasion failed.

Of these injuries the consequence was, that the wealthiest traders

* King.

soon contrived to remove their property from the kingdom, and trade was at an end. Other means were resorted to by Tyrconnel, among which was the unhappy expedient of encouraging the illegal conveyance of Irish wool into France; but we cannot afford further detail of this class of oppressions, for which the materials are unusually abundant in the numerous documents which remain from the contemporaries. The attacks on property were not confined to trade.

In addition to the measures of destruction last mentioned, the whole tribe of informers sprung up with more than their usual fertility. The varied plots against the proprietors of lands, which had, in the administration of Parsons, been such an aggravation of the evils of that calamitous period, were now sadly increased in amount and variety. This can easily be understood: the protestants were then beyond all comparison the more civilized class: the insolence, injustice, and falsehood, which always belong to the triumph of the democracy of every party, were now aggravated by the character of the party itself, and by the general condition that it was now for the first time countenanced by authority. Formerly there was always a hope of escape at the worst, in the chance that the prosecution of private or official tyranny might be exposed to the English council or the eye of royal justice; but now there was no refuge at the throne; the fountain of all malversation and perversion of all right was the royal breast. Yet, even under these circumstances, so monstrous was the combination of villany and ignorance, that accusations failed, from being too evidently false for even the goodwill of the council to admit. On one occasion, they had indeed the mortification to be themselves the reluctant witnesses in favour of sixty protestant gentlemen, who had been before them to be examined on the very day that they were accused of holding an illegal meeting at Nenagh.

While the most unprecedented combination of oppression, misgovernment, and the most incredible infatuation, were thus working their most deplorable effects, and Ireland was a stage of every species of oppression, borne as oppression has seldom been borne in the history of nations, the triumphant party had their own quarrels: like foul birds, they soon began to tear each other upon the carcass of the fallen foes. The lord-lieutenant did not escape the enmity of those whom it was impossible even for his unscrupulous nature to satisfy: his secretary, when restrained in the selling of offices, resolved to ruin him, and drew up an accusation for the purpose. He was backed in this attempt by the titular primate and father Petre: but the influence of Sunderland prevailed to save Tyrconnel, who met the charge with a long and true detail of his enemy's corruption. We shall not enter into this detail; accusation found sufficient scope on either side, and it will be enough to state, that the secretary was dismissed from his employment, and the attack upon Tyrconnel had no effect in diminishing his favour with a master whom he served too well. More serious was the dissatisfaction of the English privy council at the great and sudden defalcation of the Irish revenue. Such a consequence was not to be viewed with much complacency by any; but there were in the council some lords, who saw with disapprobation the course which had been adopted towards Ireland, and now noticed its effects with a severity

not very acceptable to king James. Lord Bellasis, a Roman catholic peer, with just indignation, observed that a governor like Tyrconnel would ruin ten kingdoms; and so loud became the outcry in England, that at last he was compelled to go over to set matters right with the king. The king, perfectly willing for the destruction of both kingdoms, was under the necessity of disguising his policy as much as his violent and narrow disposition would admit, and was from time to time compelled to contradict his own declarations, and belie his purposes.

Tyrconnel committed the government of the kingdom to Fitton and the earl of Clanricarde, reminding them of the great power which their party had now gained, with a blasphemous imprecation that God might damn them should they be remiss in the use of it. He took with him chief baron Rice, and waited at Chester on the king, whom he easily satisfied. His foes were not so easily satisfied; the titular primate, who had been Sheridan's assistant in the recent accusation, and father Petre, who had joined in the same attempt, were filled with resentment. The English Romanists were dissatisfied at the atrocity of the means taken to exalt their party in Ireland, and the Irish members of the same church were utterly discontented at the result. The latter soon saw that while the protestants were insulted and robbed by soldiers and lay officials of every denomination, no substantial change was all the while effected in favour of the Roman church, neither were the hierarchy and ecclesiastical privileges on one side a step raised, or on the other depressed; and the Pope, who did not approve of any part of James's character and policy, showed his entire contempt of all their proceedings on every occasion, as we shall presently notice more fully.

Before proceeding farther with the train of events in Ireland, we shall now call the reader's attention to the concurrent progress of English affairs, upon which depended the great event of all this miserable wickedness and folly; and lest any reader should consider this an unnecessary digression, we may here observe, as we shall hereafter more fully explain, that numerous modern historical writers have, either by inadvertence or design, altogether misinterpreted the history of the period, from taking a narrowed view of events, isolated from all the essential concomitants of cause and circumstance. We cannot, indeed, too frequently repeat our maxim, adopted in this work, that to investigate aright the justice and policy of measures, the designs and principles of the party by whom they are to be administered, is the chief element, and, for the most part, the only one worth consideration. To estimate rightly the violent proceedings of the Irish government at this critical period, it becomes absolutely necessary to survey the whole system of instrumentality of which they were a portion.

King James had ascended the throne under circumstances unusually favourable. A severe struggle between the court and the country party had, by a succession of incidents, most of which were apparently accidental, terminated in the temporary prostration of the popular spirit. The sounds of party conflict had been silenced by the defeats and disasters of the popular party, by the guilt and folly of those who had made the public cause instrumental to their private malignity or ambition, or by the exposure of the great impostures which had be-

trayed the public zeal into a false position. A cessation of party intrigue was accompanied by an obsequious parliament, who, if the mere appearance of moderation had been preserved, and the king had simply contented himself with the attainment of despotic power, would have been content to fill his coffers, swell his prerogative, and sleep on their forms, under the soporific influence of a despotic sceptre, and in full faith in the divine right of kings.

But the divine protection which has, we are willing to believe, ever watched over the fate of England, ordered it otherwise, and broke this fatal trance. The king was, as the reader is aware, not nearly so desirous to exalt the prerogative, as to bring his heretic people to the foot of the Pope, and either his impatience, or that of the priests by whom all his actions were guided and governed, would not allow him to pursue his beloved object by the longer, but safer and surer, path of policy. His arrogant faith in the power of the crown, and the easy conquest over the ill-concerted rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, increased his power and his confidence, and he soon came to the rash and fatal resolution, to fling aside the flimsy disguise which had hitherto concealed his motives, and go directly to his object. The intemperance of his zeal hurried him on, and many of the steps which at first appeared to secure him a triumph, and to increase the terror and submission of his subjects, were, from their nature, sure to create a speedy and dangerous reaction. By a fatality, not singular in the events of Europe, the triumph of protestantism was to be ushered in by menacing appearances of protestant adversity all over Europe. A general revolution in favour of the church of Rome, appeared to have fully set in, and a seeming conspiracy of thrones and principalities in its favour, was crowned by the fearful consequences of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The horrors of religious persecution, so much talked of, and so little truly imagined in our own times, let loose against protestants in the dominions of Louis, excited terror and despair in the British isles, among the crowd who looked no further than the bounded circle of the moment. But England, though at an humble distance it is to be confessed, reflected the horrors of the continent in that dreadful period. The will of the despot will never want agents suited to its utmost reach of cruelty and injustice: the execrable Jefferies and the monster Kirke, with their cloud of fiend-like officials, were let loose upon the English protestants; the one made a mockery of justice, and the other turned aside its very name, for the satisfaction of the tyrant's and bigot's eager fanaticism, and for the gratification of their own blood-thirsty natures. We are not under the necessity of entering upon the well-known details of their crimes, to be found in every history of England,* as strongly narrated by the latitudinarian Hume, as by the zealous and decided pen of Burnet. Suffice to say, that every town, and almost every village in England, was stained with judicial and military executions, on so little warrant or pretence of crime, that no protestant could feel safe. To throw a slight veil over this flagitious persecution, every pretence was adopted to give a civil character to the pro-

* See Hume's *England*, Vol. viii., p. 184, et seq.

ceeding: the common pretence was some suspicion of having been engaged in rebellion, being disaffected, having harboured rebels, or uttered disloyal language. The nearest general idea we can give of the nature of the proceedings, may be had from the statement, that even Jefferies, who pretended to use the forms of law, constantly threw even these aside to obtain quick and summary convictions; that not content with bullying the advocates, where any such had the courage to appear, and in his own person confounding the judge with the prosecutor, he adopted the still shorter method of endeavouring to bully the prisoners into admissions which might save any unnecessary delay between the bar and the gallows. Kirke had a still shorter course; setting aside the mockery of trial, he considered that the real object of the whole proceeding was the death of obnoxious persons, and he hanged those who were brought before him without further inquiry. Even these atrocities might have escaped the retribution they richly deserved, had the infatuated monarch been content to carry his objects in detail, and by slow approaches, making conquest precede the assumption of victory. His first step was the assertion of the power to dispense with the tests by which the members of the Romish communion were excluded from the army. He declared to his parliament his wish to retain the services of the numerous officers of that persuasion who had assisted in suppressing the late rebellion. He told them that the militia had been found useless, and that it was necessary to maintain a force, on which, in case of any future rebellion, he might rely, and that he would neither expose them to the disgrace of a dismissal, nor lose their service. For this purpose he demanded a supply, and at the same time mentioned, that by his royal prerogative he had dispensed with the test in their favour. The commons were as much disposed as it was possible for any body of English gentlemen to be, to submit to the encroachments of royalty, and it is most likely, as Hume suggests, that if he had been content to exercise the unconstitutional right which he thus claimed, they would have been silent; but, under the direct appeal, silence would have been too ignominious. The double assertion of a dispensing power and of a standing army, composed too of that class most incompatible with the constitution, and most likely to be used against it, was too much, and the commons were roused to the exertion of some freedom of speech. A remonstrance was voted, prepared, and transmitted; but they received a bullying reply from the king. They soon, however, gave way before the king's anger, and had the baseness to send Mr Coke, the member for Derby, to the Tower, because, while they were yet quailing under their terror at the angry reply of the king, he attempted to recall their spirit by the simple but eloquent reproof, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words." From such cowardice little resistance was to be apprehended by the king. They adjourned without committing themselves by any further consideration of the contested points, and when they next met, they entered with loyal alacrity upon the business of supply, voting a large additional revenue to strengthen the hand they feared. This victory was, however, in other respects frustrated by the firmness of the other house, and by the impetuosity of the king. The king's speech was received by the lords.

after the usual custom of the house, by a vote of thanks, which was yet merely personal. A few days after, when the consideration of its actual purport was proposed, an attempt was made to arrest this course, by the representation that by their vote of thanks the peers had precluded themselves from all further animadversion on the subject. This doctrine was promptly repelled, and several peers expressed their opinions in opposition to the court with frank spirit. The lead in this opposition was, however, taken by the bishop of London, in the name of the whole bench, which Hume, with a gratuitous levity of assertion which the whole history of the reign should have silenced, observes, was the quarter from which such a freedom was least to be expected. These, with the temporal peers who took the same side, strenuously urged, that the "test was the best fence they had for their religion; if they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow; and if the king might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and, above all, with an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more; the government would become arbitrary and absolute."* Jefferies took the principal part on the opposite side, and attempted to maintain the doctrines of the court by such arguments as alone could have any weight in the maintenance of such doctrines; but as these consisted in menace and blustering assertion, the eloquence of Jefferies fell pointless, and he found himself disconcerted, humbled, and out of his element, in the presence of those who rebuked his insolence with merited scorn, and treated his reasons with the slight which was their due. The king was enraged, and committed the precipitate step which was never to be retrieved, by proroguing and finally dissolving a parliament, less hostile to his person and aims than any other he might after hope to bring together; and we would here call the reader's attention to the consideration which we think essential to a due allowance for the folly of this and many further steps of the king,—that his heat of temper, and the fierce indignation with which he met every opposition, prevented that moral recoil of fear and alarm, by which a more considerate and composed spirit would have been led to perceive danger, where James, in his blind and intemperate zeal, only saw offence; so inveterately was his understanding bigoted to the sense of his indefeasible power, that he felt the very remonstrance of those upon whose rights he would infringe, as an insult and an outrage, so that his resentment and gloomy pride went before all regard to consequences. By keeping this seemingly slight moral fact in view, and looking in addition on the exceeding instability of a temper so little supported by manly firmness or statesmanlike wisdom, it will be easy to conceive at a glance the opposite attributes of mind which appear to characterize his conduct—the extremes of presumption and imbecility are indeed never far asunder.

On the abstract merits of the question thus raised, as to the dispensing power of the king, the decision is involved in too many difficulties for the brief method of discussion which our limits would require. Lawyers have exerted all their ability to enlighten and obscure it, and with all the admirable resources of learning and talent

* Burnet.

which they can bring to bear on such questions, and have brought to bear on this, they can seldom be cited as the best guides in the investigation of a principle, or even in the policy and expediency of its application. Ever engaged in advocacy, and fettered by the habitual constraint of conventional maxims, which are in so many instances only valid in courts of justice, they are better judges of what is the law than of what is right, fit, or just. The mind of Coke will, on this very question, be found perched on the absurdity that the king is entitled to the entire service of all his subjects, which can only be true in virtue of an admission; and may, like some other maxims, be very useful as a summary statement of the facts and secondary principles it is meant to embody, but no more than a wretched assumption when applied as a first principle to the decision of a right which can only exist in one of three ways, as the inference from a necessary principle, from unquestionable and general admission of fitness, or from the express declaration of positive law. Viewed in the last mentioned aspect, there seems to be a general consent of lawyers, whose authority can hardly be rejected in such a question, that a dispensing power in the crown has always been admitted in the legislature as well as in the courts, up to the period in question; so far there can properly be raised no question. But the state of the law being so far ascertained, a very wide question must be admitted to arise as to the *limits* of such a power. If we have to look no farther than special precedents, it is evident that there may be a very grievous latitude for all abuse: as the encroachments of power and the delusions of party feeling would simply draw the variety of the precedents into a fallacious and dangerous, yet very simple and specious principle in favour of a general power. When once admitted in all the cases which appear to have arisen, there seems to be no reason why it should, for the first time, be arrested upon any new case which may arise, and this inference only shows that the principle must be found in some other mode of looking at the question than precedents. That some limit must exist, will be admitted the moment the constitution is denied to be a pure despotism.

But that we cannot afford space to go into refined distinctions, it would be indeed easy to prove, that the application of precedents is on such a question a defective mode of reasoning. Such has been, however, the argument mainly relied upon, and is perhaps the most efficient which could be used in a court of justice, of which the decisions are principally no more than the statement of law and authority. But it is enough to show that such questions are not precisely to be measured by the limits of men's prudence and legal decision, if it be considered that every unconstitutional stretch of power might, until that very period, have been maintained by such reasonings to an extent which must in fact have established the most contradictory positions. The frame of government actually contained within its texture numerous contradictory elements, and for several reigns there had been an inherent strife between its vital powers, which was itself a part of the constitution as it then stood. But in any form or state of government there are some essential principles of universal application which cannot fail to lead to a conclusion satisfactory to the reason, however it

may escape from the impassioned, partial, and conflicting views of courts and parliaments. Admitting without comment the necessity of some limiting power to the operation of human laws, we may state, in the simplest language, these elementary principles, which we think set bounds to every dispensing power, so far as it comes within their application. First, and most universal, is the principle which we have often seen stated in the works of juridical and historical writers, namely, when the law to be dispensed with, is itself inconsistent with the existence of such a power; on this we shall not dilate. Another involves the same principle, in a different manner, that is to say, when a dispensing power is at variance with the civil constitution of the country. Such a ground is not, however, within the strict bounds of legal argument. But there is a distinction which we conceive ought to be considered as a limiting principle, and to contain one true criterion of the general boundary of such a prerogative: it lies simply in the distinction between the *general* and special operation of a law. To dispense *generally* with a law, must virtually amount to a repealing power; to arrest its application in any *particular case* is different, and even if the interference should be erroneous, amounts to nothing more than an abuse of a discretionary power, needful for the due application of all the imperfect results of human wisdom. Here we would contend on this principle, that a general dispensing power is, in the strict sense of the word, contrary to law, unless it be assumed to be the despot's will; as any law independent of this *essentially* involves, that it is independent of such a prerogative; we must therefore feel ourselves bound to affirm that all decisions to the contrary, which legal writers have adduced, were either illegal, or not precedents in favour of the prerogative so exercised. Had king James's claim been, to dispense with the test in favour of his own chaplain, the case would escape the application of the principle. When he set it aside as affecting a particular set or body of individuals, it amounted to a gross, dangerous, and unconstitutional abuse of a prerogative; but when he declared a general exemption, he set aside the law of the land, and broke down the very barrier on which his own rights were based—his right became no more than the right of the strong, and opposition to whatever extent circumstances required and admitted, justifiable. In this conclusion it is only assumed that there is some limitary line, at which the trust reposed in the crown, for the national advantage, may be considered as betrayed. A question of great peril and difficulty, and open to great and destructive errors; but such is the necessary result of the imperfection of human judgments. The errors of human reason become dangerous in proportion to the importance of the interest at issue; and perhaps in such questions as that on which the English nation was then compelled to decide, the safest rule would be, that the case should be imminent and extreme, and the danger universal and fundamentally affecting the constitution of the country. Happily, such a question in the present state of things, is not very likely to arise in the British nation. The crown has been reduced to its just place in the combination of national authorities of which the legislature is composed; and though we have no doubt that from time to time unconstitutional proceedings will be

adopted for the purpose of raising every one of these powers above its constitutional level, yet at the present time, the danger of these, if any, seems rather in the democratic than in the kingly scale.

Such was the main question in that critical controversy between James and the English nation, in the course of which the several functions of the civil constitution of the state were attempted to be perverted by force or influence. The commons which, deriving its character and spirit ever from the preponderant power for the time in being, is therefore liable to great inequalities in its action, gave way, though not without sufficient demur, to give warning to a saner spirit than that of king James of the national feeling and of the tendency of his conduct. The stress of that great contest was destined to be thrown upon the church, which, as it was the direct object of attack, so under the merciful protection and guidance of Providence, it offered the first and most decided resistance which arrested the frantic career of James, and forced on the progress of his despotic attempts upon the freedom and religion of the nation, to a great and critical deliverance.

The house of peers, led on this occasion by the bench of bishops, who were supported by the lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt, carried a motion of the bishop of London's for the appointment of a day to take the king's speech into consideration. These indications of the sense of the country and of the resistance which was to proceed from the church, were not confined to the parliament: the spirit, learning, and eloquence of ecclesiastical writers and preachers were called up, and sermons and pamphlets were multiplied with extraordinary ability and effect. Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, and many other eminent men, whose works yet hold a standard place in British literature, wielded the pen of controversy with a power which met no adequate opposition; and every week brought out some new work which was received with the most general avidity. The king made a rash attempt to arrest this torrent in its course, by an order to the bishop of London, for the suspension of Sharp, the rector of St Giles, who had preached some controversial sermons. The bishop remonstrated upon the illegality of the required act, and the king, determined to carry his point, had recourse to the jurisdiction of the court of ecclesiastical commission; a court which had not only been abolished but its renewal declared illegal. The bishop protested against its jurisdiction; he was sent to the Tower and suspended in his ecclesiastical functions.

The king thus found himself committed in a war with the Church of England. He attacked the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was foiled at every point by the vigour, firmness, and courage of these learned bodies. Among the members of the Church of Rome he was by no means generally supported. The lords of that communion, who were his principal counsellors, did not concur in any of his rash measures, and in vain remonstrated at every successive step of a course of which they could not fail to feel the iniquity and to perceive the result. James was ruled by father Petre, a Jesuit, who, like Rinuncini, was incapable of comprehending any result but that one to which all his aims were directed. At Rome, where (as has always been observed) there is by no means the same blind zeal which belongs so often to the remoter realms of its spiritual empire, the conduct

of the king was despised and condemned; and this, we are much inclined to believe, was aggravated by the Pope's enmity to the Jesuits. Innocent was a man of very prudent worldly dispositions, and far more alive to the care of his fiscal interests than ecclesiastical concerns: of theology he was ignorant, but he was keenly alive to the insults and offences which he received from the French court, and more offended by James's sedulous and obsequious cultivation of Louis's friendship than pleased by his spiritual zeal. He was therefore in reality more inclined to throw his weight, to the utmost extent which decency would permit, into the protestant scale, and looked with a more friendly eye on the interests of the prince of Orange, who, though the champion of protestantism, was the foe of his foes, than upon the rash and infatuated measures of the English court, which he was, *pro forma*, compelled to sanction, but at the same time treated with all allowable slight.

Among other demonstrations, which, at the same time, showed the weakness and insincerity of James, was his conduct to the dissenters. He first let loose upon them the fury of Jefferies, but on coming to a direct quarrel with the church, and finding the want of some popular pretext for dispensing with the tests and penalties affecting his own church, he changed his tone; he began to speak sounding maxims about the blessings of toleration, of freedom of conscience, and the injustice of all suffering on the score of religious faith. Thus, as Hume (who is not to be suspected of a bias towards any creed, or any fixed principle of action or opinion,) writes, "even such schemes of the king's as might be laudable in themselves, were so disgraced by his intentions, that they serve only to aggravate the charge against him." It was in the prosecution of his plan for the depression of the church, and effecting his real object at a stroke, that, in 1687, he declared a universal toleration, which did not for a moment deceive any one. Every one understood that the main bulk of the dissenters were all more at variance with his church than the church of England; having, indeed, for the most part, quitted the church of England on the ground of some form or doctrine, retaining, as they alleged, the savour of popery. Yet even of these, the most considerable churches, the presbyterian and independent, especially the former, so far agreed in the articles of their communion with the English church, that in its downfall they must have seen their own. From the more leading and reasonable members of these communions the king received no credit, though they were glad to avail themselves of the indulgence thus obtained. The king had neither the patience nor the dexterity to conceal his true objects: while he endeavoured to win the English dissenters, he exhibited his real temper in the denial of his countenance to those of the same communion in Scotland. His declarations of indulgence too, while they failed to effect the delusion intended, exposed the spirit in which they were designed, by indiscreet assertions of illegal power which accompanied them as a running commentary; "he had thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to grant this royal toleration." In the midst of this infatuation, James felt, or more probably it was continually urged upon him, by those who were less confident than he in the despotic maxims on which he relied, that to give a permanent

security to the Romish church, it would be necessary to obtain the sanction of the legislative body. This he had, from the commencement of his reign, been vainly endeavouring to obtain; and nothing more plainly shows the real temper of the nation than his entire absence of success. Generally, the temper and opinions of the representatives of the nation are so far divided, and for the most part there is so much ignorance of constitutional interests, and so much indifference to all but private and personal interests, that it is not difficult to form a tolerably even balance in favour of any views of the cabinet; and, unless when some great national ferment has been raised, it is difficult to conceive a course of policy so deleterious to constitutional welfare and stability, that cannot soon be maintained by a sincere, zealous and powerful party, both in the house and throughout the nation. Such indeed is necessarily the constitution of public opinion; a thing, if we may so call it, more many-headed than seems to be generally imagined by those who write and speak of it; so that it is, as it were, the fictitious deity of journalists and street rhetoricians. And yet so strong, unanimous, and resolute, was the universal repugnance to the aims which James had so much at heart, that his first and most obsequious parliament, who would, if properly managed, have yielded up every barrier of the constitution, were found stubborn in this. In vain the king had recourse to the summary expedient of the *quo warranto*, and tried by the usurped prerogative of dissolving,* renewing, and changing at will the corporations, to command the boroughs and the magistracy: in vain he continued an illegal jurisdiction to interfere with the privileges of the electors. The result of all his interferences, tamperings, and closetings, was the same. The party which he was thus enabled to form did not amount to any assignable proportion of the constituency anywhere, and he was obliged to give up the hope.

In this infatuated course of tyrannical but self-destructive efforts, the king continued to rush forward with something like a judicial blindness for some years. It is indeed difficult to conceive the degree of rashness which his whole conduct evinced, without having recourse to the supposition of an influence behind the throne too great for ordinary discretion. The probable duration of his life was measured by his spiritual counsellors against the progress of their wishes; and all their counsels, directed to the conscience of the feeble and bigoted monarch, were strongly actuated by some sense of the desperation of their cause. At length matters began to take a more decided turn, and events occurred which soon precipitated the career of this rash and ill-fated king. Rather goaded by continued disappointment, and embittered by the influence of an unceasing controversy with his people, than warned by instances so decided of the national spirit, the king became more harsh and peremptory in the assertion of his designs, and took more decided steps. Of these the most decisive was the attack upon the bishops, which had the dangerous effect of drawing forth a decided and general expression of the national sense. In 1688, he published a fresh de-

* The elections in many of the borough towns were by this means placed directly in the nomination of the crown, or what was the same thing, in that of its minions. Such indeed is always the virtual result of any regulation which gives individuals a power or a preponderating influence over the elections.

claration of indulgence, to which he added a command, that it should be read, for two successive Sundays, in all the churches immediately after divine service. The bishops were commanded to send this round with the sanction of their authority. The command caused great alarm, and the bishops and clergy held meetings to consider what course they should steer in a matter of such pressing emergency. The enormous power of the crown, when directed against individuals, was too formidable to be looked upon with defiance: on the opposite scale, the voice of conscience, the sense of the nation, and the safety of their church, presented motives of greater weight. In this difficulty a few less firm advised a compromise—such as, in less trying times, had often evaded acts of tyranny by an equivocal obedience or a mental reservation. Against this most disgraceful and unworthy course the voice of the majority was now raised: it was clearly pointed out that their ruin was so evidently designed that no compromise could avert it; that the obedience now required would be but a step towards this purpose; that it was useless to consider how far they could safely comply, as the requisitions upon their compliance were uniformly precedents for greater demands; and if they must make a stand at some point, *the sooner the better*, and the more especially, as these compliances would have the effect of drawing other persons into still greater compliances, by which at last they might be left in a dangerously small party; for they could not reasonably expect the nobility to sacrifice their own private interests in a struggle for the church, if the clergy themselves led the way in its abandonment. These, and other such reasons, operated upon those who required them—the body of the clergy required no reasoning to actuate their conduct—and some of the bishops prepared to stand in the gap of the constitution, and to take that part which the interests of the church and state, as well as the feelings of the nation, demanded. They resolved that the declaration should not be read.

The king was not prepared for a step so decided; some few prelates who were nothing more than creatures of the court, had deceived him into the notion that his order would be obeyed by the majority of the bishops and clergy; and that from the general submission he might draw a reasonable pretext for proceeding for contumacy against the recusant party, and thus a very decided confirmation of his authority would be obtained. While the court lay still in this delusion created by its own partisans, the churchmen proceeded with quiet and secret celerity, to convey their orders, and intimate the course to be pursued to the clergy throughout the kingdom.

The feeble and indecisive Sancroft then at the head of the English church, found himself involved in the necessity of leading the march of resistance; and it may be observed that this is of itself a strong indication of the spirit of the moment, as well as of the strong sense of the emergent necessity of the occasion; two years sooner this archbishop would have given way: he now prepared to act as became the duty of his high station. Having convened his bishops and clergy and taken their nearly unanimous consent, he came with six bishops to London, where they agreed upon a petition to the king, expressive of the reasons for their resolution not to obey the late orders of council. They disclaimed any un-

willingness that a toleration should be conceded to the dissenters, but objected to the power by which it was attempted to be done, as laying both the church and constitution of which it was (then) a part, at the mercy of an illegal and arbitrary discretion. They expressed their willingness to consent to any measure to the same effect, which should be affirmed by the wisdom of the parliament and convocation; and noticed, that the power involved in such an order had been repeatedly declared illegal in parliament, in 1662, 1672, and in the beginning of the present reign.

Sancroft was himself ill, but sent the six bishops, St Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chester, and Bristol, to deliver the petition, which was however drawn up with his own hand. They were admitted quickly and received by the king with unexpected complacency. Deluded to the last, the king was persuaded that their object was simply to evade the public feeling, by throwing the responsibility of the required obedience upon their chancellors, and that their petition was only to suggest that it was usual to direct such an order to these functionaries, instead of to the bishops. The king's good temper was destined to have a speedy reverse; on hearing the actual petition, his rage and surprise were boundless, and his language was suitably violent. It was one of his habits to address the most indecorous and intemperate language on the most solemn or public occasions, to all who fell under his displeasure; and to the bishops his wrath was now shown by the most unmeasured reproaches. Among other things he told them "he was their king, and that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him," to this the only reply was—"the will of 'God be done." Such was the crisis of this blind monarch's fate; there was no longer room for either party to retract.

For a fortnight matters lay quiet; the king was himself staggered by the decisive blow he had struck, and consulted with persons of every persuasion. The Roman catholic noblemen of his council strongly urged that he should let the matter drop in silence. But this was repugnant to the character and state maxims of James, who held that a king should never retract, and that any measure once begun should be carried through. Father Petre, violent, short-sighted, incapable of looking to consequences, and only alive to the fierce impulse of the conflict, was transported beyond all bounds of decorous reserve by the hope of a triumph. He said in his joy that the bishops "should eat their own dung," and exerted his entire influence to hurry on the king in the frantic path on which he needed no spur. The bishops were cited before the council, and asked if the petition was theirs: they urged that their own confession should not be brought against them, and, assuming that a course so unfair would not be adopted, they acknowledged the petition. They were then charged with its publication. To this charge they answered that, they had not only not published it but that all pains had been taken to prevent its being seen by any one beyond themselves and the king. There had been no copies taken from the original draught in the archbishop's own hand, but the one; and the publication must have proceeded from some one to whom the king had shown that one. The bishops were then re-

quired to enter into bonds for their appearance before the king's bench; but on pleading their peerage, they were sent to the Tower.

This step caused a ferment in the city, such as, says Burnet, was never "known in the memory of man." A ferment not soon allayed, or confined in its immediate effects. The bishops were sent by water to the Tower; the banks of the river were crowded the entire way with people, who threw themselves upon their knees, and asked their blessing as they past along; the soldiers who were their escort caught the universal enthusiasm and followed the example of the people. At the Tower they were received with the same testimonies of reverence and affection. The king was indignant but unalarmed by demonstrations which should have made him pause and reconsider his course, had it been other than infatuation—*si mens non læva fuisset*. The moderate portion of his friends were dismayed and urged moderation to no purpose; and in two days after, when the queen was delivered (or said to be delivered) of a son, they pressed it upon him to take the fair pretext which this event offered, for their release. But the king was inflexible; he replied that his authority "would become contemptible if he allowed such an affront to pass unpunished."

A week after their committal they were brought up on a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the bar of the king's bench, and entered into bonds for their appearance in a fortnight, to answer the charges which should be brought against them. The trial came on at the appointed time, and excited a vast commotion of the city, and not less in the army which lay encamped on Hounslow heath. As the reader is already aware of the grounds of charge, it will be unnecessary to enter upon the details of this trial, simple in the character of its proceedings and the obvious questions at issue, but momentous in its consequences. There was in fact no ground on which the prosecution had a moment's chance to stand in any court having the least pretence to be called a court of justice. Williams and Powis, who conducted the case for the crown, found some thing to say, as advocates must and will. The only evidence against the bishops was their own confession; and the publication could not by any reach of ingenuity be brought home to them. Their right to petition could not be shaken by any argument sufficient to satisfy the most courtly understanding that had any pretence to sit there; and had the judges forgotten themselves so far, there was a jury. The people of England stood at the door; its first nobility crowded the court; the atmosphere of influence and corruption was excluded; and the justice of British law took its untrammelled course. The principal charge was that the petition was a libel against the king's government; to which it was replied, that the bishops had not only, in common with all subjects, a right to petition the king; but as peers they had a right to offer their counsel; and, being spiritual peers, more especially in matters of ecclesiastical concern; that having been required to act in direct violation of the law, and of their own ideas of the obligations of conscience and duty, they had a right to offer their reasons. It was also strongly argued that the dispensing power claimed by the king had been, by many votes of parliament, declared illegal, and that the point had been given up by the late king.

The trial lasted ten hours. The jury were quickly agreed upon their verdict, but they considered it prudent to make some show of prolonged deliberation. They therefore remained shut up till morning. The crowd continued all this time in anxious suspense; the king, with the impetuosity of his temper, had not allowed the fear of defeat to approach him. Early the next morning he went out to Hounslow Heath, considering his presence necessary to repress the temper which had upon that occasion manifested itself in the army. While he was there, the joyful acclamations of the city on the announcement of the bishops' acquittal rose loudly on the air, and was heard with no great complacency by the royal persecutor. His presence kept the troops silent; but he no sooner turned to leave them than their irrepressible joy broke forth. On hearing their tumultuous cheers, the king stopped to ask the cause: "Nothing but the acquittal of the bishops, which has reached them," was the simple but astounding answer. "Call you that nothing," said James; "but it shall be worse for them."

King James had little weighed his force, or the power with which he had thus rashly committed his strength; and he was not to be warned by defeat. He was like a personage described by Milton, who

"For very spite
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more."

From the shame of defeat his pride and self-will only collected accumulated inveteracy; and he now resolved to show his contempt for the triumph of the bishops by transferring the same violence to the inferior clergy. But they too, had this lesson been wanting, had learned their strength, and seen the impotence of their persecutor. The chancellor and archdeacons of the dioceses were requested to send in a list of the clergy who had disobeyed and resisted the order of council. They refused to comply. And the bishop of Rochester, who had hitherto sat with the court of commission, declined to sit with them any longer. In consequence, this illegal court adjourned for some months, and never sat again.

These affairs were not, in their results, confined to England; but caused a profound sensation in every part of Europe; and it was generally considered, as it really was, a contest for victory between the crown and the church. The constitution of England was actually in the very crisis of a struggle between its higher and more vital powers: the rights of the nation, its liberties, its laws, and its religion, were quivering in the balance against those pervading and all-grasping powers of spiritual tyranny, on which the principles of the most crushing despotism reposed. In this awful juncture, the church and the courts of justice had held their ground; but two of the judges were dismissed on suspicion of having favoured the bishops, and the powers of the constitution were giving way to a more detailed system of attack—the magistracy had been changed and the corporations tampered with. The local authorities were easily taken in detail. The king's assumed power to dispense with laws and the disabilities they created, met no power to resist them in the provinces, and there were mayors and sheriffs everywhere to secure the king's interest at the next election. It is indeed plain enough that if not

forcibly interrupted by some external force, or by some exertion of that ultimate right which subsists in the people, in such cases of extremity, even the imprudence of James would not have been sufficient to prevent the victory he sought over the liberties of the nation; had he been allowed to proceed, experience would have been the result of failure, and fraud would have at last obtained what direct violence was found unequal to wrest from the courage of a people who are alive to a sense of their constitutional rights.

James had himself begun to feel that something more than violence was essential to the desired subjugation of the national spirit; and though confiding much in his own sense of the sacred and indefeasible powers of the crown, he did not altogether remit his endeavours to win the consent of every party. To the exertion of compulsory means he added all the fraud of which he was master, and stopped at no resource of falsehood or circumvention within his power. Having endeavoured to cajole every party and sect by promises, which few had the weakness to believe; when his professions failed to impose, he soon exposed his game by the abruptness with which he changed from flattery to persecution.

Amid these dangers, the hopes of the nation were turned to the illustrious prince of Orange, who, by his many eminent moral and intellectual endowments had obtained an unusual ascendancy in the European system; being at this time universally looked to as the centre of the protestant interests on the Continent. Equally opposed to the grasping and ambitious projects of Louis XIV., both by the political interest of his own country, and by religious principle, he had succeeded in organizing a formidable combination of the most powerful of the crowned heads and small independencies which then constituted no inconsiderable portion of the European states. As his wife was the next in succession to the British throne, until the recent event of the queen's delivery of a son; and as even after that there remained still no inconsiderable chance of her reversionary right, the prince, thus recommended by the double consideration of a common interest and a common religion, was naturally turned to in this season of urgent distress. He was pressed by the urgent applications of many public bodies and many individuals of rank, weight, and public influence, to hasten his interference. He was himself not an indifferent spectator of the progress of events; but a sense of justice, his respect for the filial tenderness of his princess, with the delicacy of his own relationship to the king, and also the immediate position of the system of politics in which he was then engaged, all contributed to restrain his conduct. He nevertheless was far from remiss, but continued to keep an earnest and vigilant attention to every turn of affairs in England. In this he was aided by the constant influx of intelligence from all the protestant parties; but he found a still more certain guide to the thorough comprehension of all the evolutions of the king's cabinet, and also an able and intelligent adviser, in that well known and sound divine and political historian, Dr Gilbert Burnet, whose independent and active spirit made him an object of strong dislike to king James, so that he soon began to feel himself unsafe in England, and took refuge in Holland where he was protected by the prince, to whom he quickly became a most

ready and influential adviser: thus indeed taking a greater share in the events of his time, than, from the nature of his agency, appears on the face of general history.

The prince's attention had first been called to the affairs of England by the king's anxiety to obtain the sanction of his consent to the abolition of the tests and the confirmation of his dispensing power; this he thought would not only influence the sense of parliament, but afford the best security for the permanence of those changes which he was endeavouring to bring about. With such views he gave the prince reason to expect the assistance of England in his Continental engagements. This strong temptation had been resisted by the prince, who, with a due sense of the machinations of his father-in-law, and of the necessity of the test to the preservation of the protestant religion in England, refused to concede more than his consent to a general toleration in favour of dissenters. The king, still anxious to obtain a more full concurrence, continued to push his object by a protracted correspondence with the pensionary, Fagel, who at last returned a full statement of the views entertained on the subject both by the prince and princess: in this paper he drew the important distinction between penal persecutions on the score of conscientious opinion, and the mere exclusion from offices; which latter he deemed to be not in the nature of punishment, but simply a necessary security for the established worship, under such circumstances, and from the interposition of such opinions as might endanger its safety. To recognise the necessity of such a security at that period, it is only necessary for the reader to call to recollection the history of the churches in that age when the persecution of the Huguenots had not merely aroused the fears of the protestant states, but given a tangible reality and substance to the object of those fears. The publication of Fagel's letter produced a very considerable effect upon all parties in England. To the protestants it imparted firmness, concentration, and spirit; it excited at once the eremity, and called forth the active hostility of the king. He entered into an amicable understanding with the Algerines, who then infested the Dutch marine, and gave them a friendly refuge in his harbours; he recalled his subjects from the prince's service, and began to strengthen his navy with no doubtful intentions.

The prince was not remiss; he sent over Dykvelt, his envoy, to remonstrate in behalf of the English protestants, and at the same time to feel the pulse of the nation, and cultivate every favourable inclination. The correspondence with Holland soon began to grow frequent and important; the Hague became a general resort for all whom apprehension or discontent drove from England; Admiral Herbert took up his residence there, and Admiral Russell made himself the means of keeping open a free communication. In England, all parties but that small one for whom the king was hazarding his throne, united in the common cause. Faction, which the slightest shade of difference in creed or form is enough to raise to all its intensity, was consigned to a temporary repose; the larger and more influential portion of the English peerage, spiritual and lay, concurred in their appeals to the prince; and applications too authoritative to be slighted, and too earnest to be resisted, came pouring in from every quarter. Many lesser incidents,

which our space has not permitted us to notice, added motives to the national appeal, and at length the prince became convinced that the interests of England, as well as of his own country, lay in the same course, and he resolved to follow the path thus pointed out.

His preparations had been already commenced, from the moment that his intercourse with James had assumed a hostile turn; the strengthening of his navy had become a matter of prudence, and the military character of his continental engagements rendered such a course both easy and little liable to be suspected. Availing himself of these circumstances, he completed his preparations with discretion and vigour, and at the fortunate moment, when the mind of England was agitated by the persecution of the six bishops, it was understood by all whose privity to his purpose was desirable, that the prince was on his way to England.

The king of France, by his interference, added resolution to the Dutch, offended the preposterous dignity of James, and filled England with a fear of being filled with Frenchmen, and betrayed to the ambition of Louis. King James, in the mean time, continued obstinate and incredulous. His understanding could not open itself to the conception of any invasion of those rights which he considered indefeasible; yet, besides the resistance he had found in the various civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he at this time received intimations of his real helplessness, which would have been warnings to a more prudent mind. His navy had nearly mutinied, because their admiral, Strickland, had a mass celebrated on board his ship; and, at the same time, declared that they would not fight the Dutch, whom they called "friends and brethren." A still more marked and fatal demonstration occurred in the conduct of his army. He made a plan to obtain the consent of the troops to the repeal of the test and penal statutes, by taking the regiments separately. His general, the earl of Litchfield, accordingly drew out a battalion in the presence of the king, and told them what was required of them, with the alternative of laying down their arms. The battalion immediately (with the exception of two captains and a few men) laid down their arms. James was completely unprepared for such a consequence, and gloomily commanding them to resume their arms, he assured them "that for the future he would not do them the honour to apply for their approbation."

During this emergency, Tyrconnel, who was pushing forward the king's views in Ireland with a hand retarded by no scruple, is asserted to have been the first to communicate decided intelligence of the imminent danger. This we do not believe, but think it probable that he was among the first to obtain decided intelligence. Such a warning would indeed have produced but little influence upon the indomitable folly of James. He had, early during the prince's preparations, received a letter of a more authoritative nature from the hand of his own minister at the Hague, and in the extremity of his terror, made a late effort, which only showed his feebleness and his fears, to retrace his steps. He offered to enter into an alliance with the Dutch; he replaced the lieutenants of counties who had been dismissed for adhering to the test and penal laws; he restored charters, and annulled the ecclesiastical commission court; he released the bishop of London from

the suspension under which he had been suffered to remain, and reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen College. Such attempts at conciliation were late, and only drew upon him the contempt of all parties. The bishops, to whom in his terror he condescended to use flattery and protestations, sternly reminded him of his tyranny and misgovernment, and advised him for the future to be more select in his advisers. Notwithstanding all this appearance of terrified concession it is generally believed that upon some momentary rumour of the wreck of the Dutch fleet, he was on the point of recalling all these illusory retractations. But neither his pertinacious folly, nor his affectation of repentance, was to have any further effect to retard the approach of that retribution which he had so effectually drawn down: the measure of his crimes and infatuation was complete.

We do not feel it necessary to enter upon the relation of the subsequent incidents of this great event as connected with English history, but have felt ourselves compelled to go so far as we have written, in a general statement of their immediate causes, as the most clear and just method of meeting the numerous mis-statements of the party writers, who have maintained their opinions by the very usual method of narrowing the subject. The warfare of accusation and recrimination has been, as too frequently occurs among the writers of the last century upon Irish history, merely a battle of posts: single facts, and circumstances merely local, affording the entire materials of a controversy, in which the real merits of the question assumed to be under discussion, are, to a very great extent, shut out of view. The rancorous contest which was carried on in Ireland by two parties, violently imbittered against each other, by a long and furious contest of rights, and mutual or alternate injuries, which in countries more advanced would have been forgotten, exhibits a tissue of crimes and sufferings on either side, complicated beyond any power of analysis to disentangle; and affords abundant matter for the strong details of King and Borlase, or for the acrimonious compilations of Curry,* without in any way transgressing the line between fiction and truth. Such statements as these which such writers contain, would now be much softened and balanced by the better portion of their authors, and many strong extenuations would be found for the actors of those fearful times. It would be perceived that neither the crimation of unpaid protestant soldiers for such crimes as the soldiers of every party are prone to commit, nor the defence of the rash acts by which king James interfered to break down the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, in the remotest degree contain the real questions attempted to be thus settled. When the reader, however, looks upon the true character of king James, and his whole subversive policy, his rejection of all principle, his

* We do not of course mean here to bring these writers into any comparison. King may justly be viewed among the greatest men of his time. His views are by no means narrowed; but his statement abounds with such details as must always occur in the representations of those who are eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The difference is this; King's facts are illustrations and instances of the real respective positions of the actors then on the stage of events; Curry's are altogether irrelevant to the great transactions then in their course, and being exclusive of all the questions really at issue, serve no end but the most pernicious and exasperating misrepresentation of history.

contempt of all right, his monstrous acts of despotic injustice, his base hypocrisy, and flagitious falsehood, and the avowed object of all this baseness and violence, he must comprehend that the question, how far the members of the Romish persuasion had a claim to certain rights, either in precedent or natural justice, is altogether nugatory. The precedent may be admitted, and the natural right be allowed, but the act of imaginary *justice* will be seen to spring from the most wicked and dangerous conspiracy, to enslave a great people, and destroy the civil rights and the religion which they revered and loved. It was no time for acts of justice; it is not upon the verge of battle that questions of national equity are to be canvassed; however just it may have been to admit the Romish laity to corporate rights, or even to equalize them with those of the opponent communion, the act was *designed* and *adapted* to effect a wicked, ruinous, and unjustifiable end. The measures by which justice might be consulted, had ends far different from justice; and it certainly should not be demanded, that the protestants of that day were to stop to concede rights and immunities, of which the avowed design was to wrest from them all that they possessed. The contest was, in effect, one between king James and his kingdom: the indignity of the protestant church was its direct and immediate object. In Ireland the schemes of the tyrant were carried on with more fierce determination, and their true intent well understood; and there was, concurrently with this general sense, the natural terror of one party, the anticipated triumph of the other, and the many hostile feelings and restrictions of both. The rights of men, and the conflict of reason and statement, were not seriously relied upon by either, and behind the questions which were hung out to give speciousness to the partisans of a tyrant, there were other views, of which his advocates say nothing. Such are, in our view, the considerations which render it expedient to look upon the events of the revolution in England, as the just commentary upon the Irish history of the same period. The question then at issue, was neither one of detailed grievances, nor yet was it one of abstract right. It was, and ought ever to be, like all great questions, resolved with a view to the general rights and interests of the nation, and to the character and principles of the claimants. In the abstract there was no reason against a popish judge or a popish corporation, but they were justly referred to certain well known and not concealed principles, to certain hopes of an ulterior nature, and to a dangerous and unconstitutional relation with certain unconstitutional authorities greater than the law. Such reasons, while they existed, made general positions such as are applied to these questions, ridiculous. The *transfer of land* was the popular excitement of the *Irish* party of that day, and no one can pretend to doubt but they must have obtained their end had they been enabled to pursue the means adopted.

It would, indeed, be for the benefit of Ireland, if such details as exhibit to either party the frightful tablet of the injuries which they have received from the other, had never been written; for, while the inferences to which such details must ever lead, are inconclusive, their effect in creating and keeping alive animosities is fearful. Had not the bitterness of the 17th century been industriously propagated—had not dangerous positions been kept alive, the protestants and papists of

the present century might have found some difficulty in discovering the grounds of that civil inequality, which, till recently, has existed. We are aware of all that might be replied to this assertion, but we write after much and long deliberation.

We have now very fully stated to our readers the reasons for which we shall continue to lay before them the acts of the main parties, and the leading events during this period, with the least possible reference to the detail of local and personal inflictions and sufferings.

The news of William's landing in England brought with it a sudden change of spirit on either side. The leaders of the king's party were terrified—the protestants were raised from their dejection. Under the government of Tyrconnel they had been nearly prostrated by the most severe and merciless persecution; and the last hand had been put to their ruin, by their having been disarmed, and in their defenceless state exposed to the licensed assaults and robberies of the low and savage banditti, to whom the lord-lieutenant handed over the country. Tyrconnel now, like his master, thought proper to court the party which he had roused to the fiercest and most uncompromising hostility. He flattered them with audacious lies, and endeavoured to draw a testimony to his character and government which he hoped might have shielded his person and government from the justice which seemed to be visibly impending. In this expectation he was quickly undeceived. The protestants assumed a silent attitude of menace; the seizure of the castle was proposed: but it was hoped that the course of events would now give them the desired relief, and that Tyrconnel would fly the country. Tyrconnel had recourse to measures of desperation; he let loose the armed rabble under his command upon the country, and fearful crimes were committed. The public agitation was suddenly awakened to tenfold terror, by a report industriously spread, of a conspiracy to massacre the protestants of Ireland. The alarm was terrific: the timid multitude, of every age, and sex, and condition, left their homes, and crowded to the shores and quays, in the vain hope to find vessels to convey them from the scene of apprehended carnage. Tyrconnel sent to assure them of their safety, but they refused to be convinced.

Every effort was at the same time made to keep up the courage of the Irish party. Tyrconnel's zeal and resolution appear to have suffered no abatement from the desperation of his cause; but his ability was unequal to a crisis in which nobler courage and more adequate judgment could have been of little avail. His activity only served to precipitate the downfall of the interests he had so perseveringly laboured to sustain. He recalled to Dublin the troops, which served for the moment to repress the spirit of the north; and Enniskillen and Londonderry gave a powerful example to the protestant body through Ireland, and a memorable and glorious record of heroic courage and constancy to history. We thus passingly advert to these memorable events, because we must at this period take up the thread of history in the succeeding memoir, to which we are now endeavouring to hasten. The life of Tyrconnel derives its chief importance from the succession of events of which he was a principal agent, and having so far availed ourselves of his life, we shall now dismiss him as briefly as we can.

For a moment king William was persuaded that Tyrconnel might

he gained to his side; but Tyrconnel knew well enough that, deserted by the adventitious recommendations of his position as the leader of the Irish party, and the favoured agent of a cause which demanded his principles, he must have quickly fallen into contempt. He was, perhaps, in some respects sincere; but whether he was or not, the price of perfidy would have been low, compared with the rewards of success, and of success it is evident that Tyrconnel did not despair. William encouraged by the representations of Richard Hamilton, sent him over to gain Tyrconnel, but Hamilton took the opposite part, and laboured to give firmness to Tyrconnel's resolution of resistance.

It was, however, under the circumstances, necessary to dissemble with the protestants, and dissimulation was carried so far as to send a deputation with a pretended commission, to remonstrate with James in Paris, against any farther resistance towards the prince of Orange. This mission is remarkable for the craft and treachery of its contrivance and conduct. Lord Mountjoy was sent, charged with such a direct and open message as suited the overt professions of Tyrconnel. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, was associated with him, and conveyed the real purposes of his false and double-dealing employer. On their arrival in Paris, Mountjoy was seized and incarcerated in the Bastile. Rice gave representations adapted to encourage the hopes of James, and to induce the French king to be liberal in his aid.

Tyrconnel was himself encouraged by the success of his messenger, and casting aside all fear, pressed on in the course he had adopted for the depression of the opposite party. To complete the disarming of the protestant body, before the occurrence of any trial of strength in the field, was his policy, and it was pursued with the savage and remorseless barbarity which the reader of the foregoing pages might be led to anticipate. He was universally charged with treachery, but he bluntly denied the instructions which he had given to lord Mountjoy—a denial which deceived no one on either side.

On the 12th March, 1689, James landed at Kinsale, high in that confidence which seems to have been the result of an entire want of all calculation of the consequences of events and circumstances. He was met by Tyrconnel, to whom he gave the title of Duke.

We may now dismiss the subject of this memoir, as the succeeding occurrences which have their place in the remaining short interval of his life, will come more appropriately under other names. The events of the struggle which have now to be related, were so entirely military, that Tyrconnel held but a very subordinate position in the course of affairs. Shortly after the battle of Aughrim, he reached Limerick, together with Sarsfield, who conducted thither the shattered remains of the army under his command. There, a difference of opinion arose between himself and Sarsfield, as to the further course they should pursue. Sarsfield was for a continuance of military operations, but Tyrconnel saw that the chances of resistance were for the time at an end. He died a few days after his arrival, on the 14th, 1691, and his death was generally attributed to vexation and a broken spirit.

REV. GEORGE WALKER, GOVERNOR OF LONDONDERRY.

BORN ABOUT A.D. 1617—KILLED A.D. 1691.

THE great struggle to which the events in the preceding memoir may be held as preliminary, was destined to be terminated by a personal conflict between the heads of the adverse interests on the banks of the Boyne; and we preserve the order of events by giving a summary account of them from the landing of James until that decisive fight in the course of the present memoir.

From a small but compendious account written by the Rev. John Graham, we learn the few following particulars respecting the family history of the hero of Londonderry. His father was appointed to a benefice in Derry in 1630, and in a few years after, obtained the rectory of Cappagh in the county of Tyrone; from which he was further preferred to the chancellorship of Armagh. He had a son and a daughter; the son George Walker was "instituted to the rectories of Donaghmore and Erigal Keerogal, in the county of Tyrone," in March, 1662.* He was educated in the college of Glasgow.

Of this brave man the history is wrapped in comparative obscurity, until we arrive at the last few glorious and eventful years of his long life, spent, we have every reason to believe, in the strenuous practice of the less ambitious but not less exalted and elevating duties of a christian pastor. Thus presenting an eminent instance of the truth, that those divine precepts and that holy spirit which inculcates and imparts humility and charity, can, when the cause of God and the call of the country demand, send the hero to stand in the breach, and lead soldiers and patriots to their desperate and devoted duty. If it be said in abatement of these reflections, that George Walker was naturally of a busy and ambitious temper, and however noble was his service on that emergent hour of national peril, yet that it was his military taste which spurred him to the honourable post he filled; we must deny the inference: in the following memoir there will be amply found the evidence of a nobler spirit. But there is one preliminary observation which must to all reflecting minds render superfluous all further evidence on this question: when George Walker left his ministerial duties, to take the lead in that dreadful and trying scene of danger and privation, of heroic patience and daring, he was seventy-one years of age. For nearly half a century he had pursued the homely and retired path of a minister of God's word, in a country resounding on every side with the din of arms. In the strength and energy of his four-and-twentieth year he saw the troubles of the great rebellion, when there was every temptation for the enterprising, and when the safest refuge was in arms. But Walker's bold and leading spirit was not either tempted or driven to the field. It was when the sacred ramparts of the protestant church were assailed, that the soldier of Christ stood up in the very path of his duty to lay down his life, if so required, in its defence. It may perhaps be alleged by many a pious christian

* Memoir of Walker by the Rev. J. Graham,—1832.

reader, that even in such a case the consecrated teacher of the word of charity should have taken a different course; we are not here concerned to deny the affirmation; Walker may have erred,—we think not; but all that is here required is the inference that his error, if such, had origin in a sense of duty, in a moment so critical and appalling, that it may well have been permitted to the Christian, like Peter, to draw the sword of the flesh, when the enemies of the Lord were come up with swords and staves to do him violence. Rather let the pious Christian believe that the minister of Donaghmore was the approved soldier of Him, to whom victory must be ascribed.

At the breaking out of the contests of this period, the citizens of Derry and the protestants of the north looked with great and declared satisfaction on the protection which they anticipated in the presence of a protestant commander, many of whose soldiers were also protestants. Sir William Stewart, Viscount Mountjoy, had distinguished himself and received two dangerous wounds in fighting in the Imperial service against the Turks, had on his return to Ireland, in 1687, obtained the rank of general of brigade, and, being of Scotch descent, an earnest protestant, and his family connected for nearly half a century with the military government of Derry, his appointment to the military command in Ulster procured the exemption of that province from the general disarming of the protestants which obtained elsewhere in Ireland. Accordingly, when the fearful rumour of an intended massacre of the protestants, prepared in desperation by Tyrconnel, on the success of the landing of William in England becoming known, spread wild and uncontrollable dismay among the defenceless crowd in Leinster and other protestant districts, it only aroused in the north to a firm uncompromising resolution of self-defence. In his first alarm at the state of matters in England, Tyrconnel had determined to reunite all the troops under the command of Mountjoy with its garrison for the defence of Dublin. But on learning the spirit and defensive preparations of Ulster following their removal, he hastily endeavoured to repair the error by placing garrisons anew in the frontier towns, and by directing that a newly raised regiment, entirely composed of papists, under the Earl of Antrim, should take up its quarters in Londonderry, which was at this time filled with refugees apprehensive of the imaginary massacre. These apprehensions now fearfully presented themselves to their minds, and on learning that the dreaded regiment had already reached Newtown-Limavaddy, twelve miles distant, a resolution to resist its entrance began to be diffused among the citizens; and before night a plan had been concerted between Horatio Kennedy, one of the sheriffs, and a few youths of Scottish extraction, ever since commemorated by the honourable appellation of the "Prentice Boys of Derry," for mastering the guard, seizing the keys, raising the drawbridge, and locking the gate at the ferry of the river on the occasion of the regiment approaching next day and attempting to enter the town, which was successfully carried out on Friday the 7th December, 1688. Like the other corporations of Ireland, that of Londonderry had just been arbitrarily remodelled. The magistrates were men of low station and character; among them was only one person of Anglo-Saxon extraction, and he had turned papist. A contemporaneous epic poem in its praise, quoted

by Lord Macaulay, who says its writer had evidently a minute knowledge of the city, runs thus—

“For burgesses and freemen they had chose
Brogue-makers, butchers, raps, and such as those;
In all the corporation not a man
Of British parents, except Buchanan.”

And this Buchanan is afterwards described as

“A knave all o’er,
For he had learned to tell his beads before.”

The bishop, Ezekiel Hopkins, resolutely adhering to the doctrine of nonresistance, which he had preached during many years, had aided with his influence this rabble corporation in counselling submission to the warrant enjoining reception of the soldiery, and in expostulating against the subsequent measures for securing the city, and against inviting to its defence the protestant gentlemen of the neighbouring counties, who promptly responded to the summons, arriving by hundreds on horseback and on foot by various roads. But the daring young Scotchmen who had taken the lead on this occasion, had little respect for his office, and interrupted his oration, remarking that there was then no time but for action. The corporation was substituted by their predecessors in office, and the bishop retired from the city. Tyrconnel, on learning this, was alarmed, and sent Mountjoy back, accompanied by Lieutenant-colonel Lundy with six companies, and with orders to reduce the city. Instead, however, of attacking, Viscount Mountjoy negotiated with the authorities of the city, who had in the interval made preparations for defence, and despatched letters to William and the Irish Society of London imploring aid by a gentleman of reputation called David Cairnes, who, by the weight of his character and representations, had greatly influenced the opinion of the inhabitants, at first doubtful and timid, to follow up the act of the “Prentice Boys” by these measures. This negotiation resulted in the city being allowed to retain its protestant garrison, and the citizens their arms, with assurance of a pardon under the great seal, for the act of resistance, and two sons of Mountjoy remaining as pledges in the city. Phillips, the restored governor, who had succeeded the venerable granduncle, commemorated in these pages,* of Lord Mountjoy, freely resigned his powers to the grandnephew, and the latter entered with spirit into all the wishes of the citizens, and exerted all his talent and skill to secure the defence of the city. Although these proceedings could not fail to attract the jealous attention of Tyrconnel, yet the more dangerous attitude of the protestant party made it imperative to proceed with some caution. Perhaps, as Lord Macaulay thinks, for a moment Tyrconnel really wavered in his hopes. It is certain he opened a communication with the Prince of Orange, and professed himself willing to yield, and that William, advised by his most influential Irish friends in meeting assembled, was induced to send an agent of unquestionable influence, and who undertook to

* Sir Robert Stewart, vol. ii. p. 363.

bring it to a successful issue, to negotiate a capitulation on terms honourable for all, and that should arrest the calamities that seemed to be impending. But before the arrival of this envoy of peace, the hesitation of Tyrconnel, whether genuine or feigned, was at an end. The rumour that the Viceroy was corresponding with the English had set the natives on fire; and the cry of the common people was, that if he dared to sell them for wealth and honours, they would burn the castle and him in it, and would put themselves under the protection of France. Tyrconnel now protested that he had pretended to negotiate only for the purpose of gaining time. Yet before he declared openly what must be a war to the death against the English settlers, and against England herself, he was at considerable loss how to rid himself of Mountjoy, who, although true to the cause of James up till now, would, it was well known, never be a consenting party to the spoliation and murder of the colonists. The wonderful dexterity of the man, however, suggested to him the plan referred to at the close of the preceding memoir,* by which he might at one and the same time thoroughly deceive the Irish protestants, and remove out of the way a commander whom he could not trust, until he had matured his arrangements to hand over Ireland to James and Romanism. A double-tongued embassy to the late King of England warned him by the mouth of one ambassador, of the foolishness and hopelessness of further attempt to recover possession of Ireland, and counselled submission to its occupation by England. The tongue that spoke this message was Lord Mountjoy's, and its voice chiming with his own convictions he believed it sincere. Another ambassador accompanied him whose mouth told a different tale, more truly sincere because more true.

Before leaving for Paris, Lord Mountjoy sent a statement of the considerations which induced the act to his friends in the north, enclosing copy of stipulations which Tyrconnel had passed his word of honour to observe, to the effect that no change in the *statu quo* should take place in Ulster during his absence in matters military or civil; stipulations which the latter did not and never meant to observe. On his arrival at Paris, Viscount Mountjoy was immediately imprisoned by the French authorities at the solicitation of James, and shut up in the Bastille, where he remained upwards of four years. It was unfortunate for the protestants of Derry, that, in accepting this mission, Mountjoy left Lieutenant-colonel Lundy in command of that city, a man either entirely devoted to the cause of James, or, as Lord Macaulay suggests, so faint-hearted and poor in spirit as to have given up all thought of serious resistance when, some time after, an Irish army was despatched by Tyrconnel under the command of Richard Hamilton, a double traitor to his friends and to his military parole of honour, in order to subjugate the north before aid could arrive from England. As soon as the two envoys had departed, Tyrconnel set himself to prepare for the conflict, which had become inevitable. The whole Irish nation was called to arms, and the call was obeyed with strange promptitude and enthusiasm. The flag on the castle of Dublin was embroidered with the words "NOW OR NEVER: NOW AND FOR EVER:"

* See page 423.

and these words resounded through the whole island. "Never in Europe," says Lord Macaulay, "has there been such a rising up of a whole people. The peasantry had during three years been exasperated by the application of religious and patriotic stimulants. The priests, most of whom belonged to the old families which had been ruined by the Act of Settlement, but which were still revered by the native population, charged every Catholic to show his zeal for his church by providing weapons. The army, which under Ormonde had only consisted of eight regiments, was now increased to forty-eight; and the ranks were soon filled to overflowing." No man dared to present himself at mass without a weapon of some kind or other. A day was fixed on which every protestant was required to bring every sword or gun to the parish church, and the house in which, after that day, any weapon was found, *being inhabited by a protestant*, was given to be sacked by the soldiery. Then came a destruction of property as reckless as the world ever saw. During the few weeks of Lent, the French ambassador reported to his master 50,000 horned cattle, and, popular report added, 4 to 500,000 sheep, uselessly butchered, were rotting on the ground all over the country. It was utterly impossible for the English settlers to resist an outbreak so terrible as this. Every place in the south in which they had mustered for common defence fell into the hands of the papists. The fastnesses of the gentry were either given up, or burned by the owners, who, with such valuables as they could carry, set out, armed and mounted, for the secured spots in Ulster.

We shall now proceed directly with the train of circumstances more immediately belonging to the siege of Derry. The northern protestants having generally agreed in the determination to stand up in their own defence, directions were circulated among the most influential or competent persons for the steps which appeared most immediately desirable for such a purpose. Among others, Walker received at his rectory of Donaghmore some communications urging the necessity of securing Dungannon. He acted promptly upon the suggestion, and at once raised a regiment for the purpose. He considered the necessity of preserving this communication between that town and Londonderry, to which city he repaired, for the purpose of consulting with Lundy who then commanded there. Lundy seemed at first to enter into the spirit of the country, and without any hesitation agreed with the brave rector of Donaghmore, and sent some companies to strengthen Dungannon. Two days after, however, orders were sent from Lundy to break up the garrison at Dungannon. We only mention these incidents as plainly manifesting the temper and spirit which governed Lundy's actions, and appeared more decidedly in the course of events.

On the 20th March, captain James Hamilton arrived from England with 680 barrels of powder, and arms for 2000 men. He brought to Lundy the king's and queen's commission as governor of the town, with instructions for swearing into office the different civil and military officers, and promises of speedy assistance. The king and queen were then proclaimed in the city. The remainder of the month and the beginning of April were spent in active preparations for an expected siege. It was on the 13th of April that Mr Walker received accounts

of the approach of the enemy, and immediately rode to Londonderry to apprise Lundy of the information. Lundy received the intelligence with slight, and pretended to treat it as a false alarm. Walker returned to Lifford, and the same evening the Irish army came in sight at Clodyford.* On their presence being ascertained, several persons, among whom David Cairnes is chiefly mentioned, urged Lundy to secure the passes of Fin water, that the enemy might not get over before the city should be ready for its defence. Lundy replied that his orders were already given. Having already betrayed every post over which he possessed either authority or influence, he now exercised his authority for the betrayal of the last trust committed to him, and having, as he hoped, by treacherous dispositions of the resources of the garrison, provided for the betrayal of the city, he had in this also, taken the most efficient means in his power to prevent any interruption to the approach of its enemy. But the firmness of its defenders, in some measure, baffled this treachery. King James' troops under Hamilton and Pasignan, were directed immediately to ford the river at Clodyford. Here they should have been stopped by Lundy, who on the 14th took the command of the troops destined to oppose their passage: as they approached he pretended to distrust the courage of his men, and made a precipitate retreat to Derry. The enemy advanced to Lifford, where they met a spirited and efficient resistance through the whole night, from colonel Crofton and captain Hamilton. In the morning they were joined by Walker, who then, according to his orders from Lundy, proceeded to take his post at the long causeway, and colonel Crofton remained to maintain the advanced post against the enemy. Their ammunition being spent, the soldiers under Crofton were compelled to retreat: they were necessarily joined by Walker's companies, and both effected an orderly retreat into Derry, to the number of 1,000 men. Walker immediately waited on governor Lundy, and strongly urged that he should lead out the whole garrison with the troops, on this occasion, added to their force, and take the field against the advancing enemy. Lundy objected that the conduct of the troops on the previous day had not been such as to warrant much confidence in their efficiency, and refused. Walker was of a very different opinion as to the conduct and efficiency of the troops, and of the expediency of a forward movement.† On the 15th, colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived from England, with two regiments, and a supply of ammunition. Many of those who had come from Coleraine and Dromore, were so discouraged by the great apparent weakness of the town, and the deficiency of most of the essential means and materials of defence, that they refused to remain, and thus for a time caused great depression in the garrison, as well as among the citizens. There was a want of horse for sallies; no engineers to direct their work; no fire-works to annoy the besiegers; not a gun rightly mounted on the walls; while the crowd of useless persons assembled on the walls was very numerous, and materially tended to aggravate and hasten the subsequent calamitous effects of scarcity, by the increased consumption of a

* Walker's Diary.

† Ibid.

supply already insufficient. On the 17th, news of the approach of king James' army having reached the town, a council of war was called by Lundy: it was mainly composed of those over whom he had maintained an influence, and those upon whom he was enabled to impose a false statement of circumstances: it came to the following resolution—"Upon inquiry it appears, that there is not provision in Londonderry, for the present garrison and the two regiments on board, for above a week, or ten days at most, and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well appointed army: therefore it is concluded upon, and resolved, that it is not convenient for his majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments commanded by colonels Cunningham and Richards, now on board in the river Lough Foyle. That considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy; and that this we judge most convenient for his majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."

It seems from this, as from the statements of Mr Walker, that while the citizens of Derry were still resolutely bent on resistance, there was yet a secret influence in the councils of these authorities, which devoted them to the disgrace of a surrender. Treachery and terror were both at work, and while governor Lundy meditated his own interest in the contrivance of a tame capitulation, and many whose age and caution led them to a keen view of the difficulties and dangers of their position, and to despair of the result of resistance, the people, and their patriotic leaders, watched their conduct with distrust. There was, as yet, however, a general indecision as to the course expedient to be pursued, and while those in authority wished to enter upon a negotiation with James, a habitual sense of subordination prevented any decided indication among the numerous lookers on, of their strong repugnance to such a course. Yet in this uncertain state of the authorities, some deference to the well-known feeling of the city was yet felt to be necessary: and when captain White was sent out to meet the king, for the purpose of receiving his proposals, it was made a condition, that the army which he commanded should not approach the city nearer than within four miles of its walls. The reader, who has justly appreciated the arrogant and inconsiderate disposition of James, will easily apprehend that he received so much of these overtures as suited his own wishes, and dismissed the remainder without notice. Confident in the expectation of a surrender, and imagining that this object would be the more readily gained by a show of force, the next morning he marched his army and appeared with flying colours before the walls: his reception was such as to startle the credulous arrogance of his expectations, and to abate something of his absurd confidence. Though the governor, true to his own purpose, gave orders that not a shot should be fired until farther communications had taken place; the citizens considering themselves betrayed, rushed to the walls and fired upon the hostile troops. This act disclosed to James the unwelcome truth that his own troops were

hardly to be relied on, for they ran panic-struck and disordered from the fire. It was with some difficulty that the spirit of the citizens could be quieted, so far as to allow of further negotiation: it was however evident that no hostility was offered by James, and they were strongly assured that he only came to treat. Having thus obtained a temporary calm, the governors once more sent out archdeacon Hamilton, and Mr Neville, to beg pardon in their name for having drawn him into such dangers, and to represent the great difficulty of bridling the fury and disaffection of the unruly multitude. The ex-king, on their request, drew off his troops that same evening to Jamestown, to await the event of their promised efforts to bring the people to submission.

But in the interim, the whole proceedings of the council had been disclosed by Mr Moggredge, the town clerk: their design was, indeed, such as to rouse the utmost indignation, as it was nothing less than a desertion of the citizens to the vengeance of their inveterate enemy, by a secret flight from the city. The resolution of the council was, "that colonel Cunningham, his ships, men, and provision, should return to England, and all gentlemen and others in arms should quit the garrison and go along with him." This arrangement, which contains pretty nearly an equal proportion of cowardice, treachery, and cruelty, at once roused a spirit among the citizens which set all further temporizing at defiance. The faint-hearted and the false saw that it was time to save themselves, and great numbers made their escape, not without much danger, from the angry soldiers, who were with difficulty restrained from firing upon them. Lundy, who was of all these the most an object of dislike, was compelled to have recourse to contrivance for his escape; disguised as a labourer, and loaded with a bundle of matches, he accompanied a party of soldiers, who were sent out on the pretence of a sally to relieve Culmore, and thus reached the shipping in safety.

On this, the garrison, fully resolved on holding out against the army of James, thought it expedient to choose governors. The duties of the government were committed to George Walker and Major Baker. On accepting this trust, they immediately entered upon the arrangements essential to their devoted purpose. Their first step was, the convenient distribution of their forces. The following are the particulars of this arrangement, as given by Walker in his account of these proceedings: colonel Walker, 15 companies; colonel Baker, 25; colonel Crofton, 12; colonel Mitchelburn, 17; colonel Lance, 13; colonel Mount-ro, 13; colonel Hamilton, 14; colonel Murray, 8. Each company consisted of 60 men; the whole amount of force was 7020, with 341 officers. That the reader may the more clearly understand the details of the celebrated siege of this most illustrious city, it may be useful to lay before him a brief description of its fortifications and chief localities, and for this we cannot find any thing more adapted to our purpose than the following description prefixed to Walker's diary. "The form of the town comes somewhat near an oblong square; and its situation lengthways is north-west and south-east, or on a diagonal drawn from the church through the market-house, to the magazine, is near upon a north and south line.

"The length of the town through the middle, from Ship-quay gate

to Bishop's-gate, is about 300 paces, or 1500 foot. The wall on the west side the town 320 paces; the wall on the east side about 380.

"The breadth at north-west end 140; at the south-east end 120; from Butchers-gate to Ferry-gate, where the town is broadest, 180 paces.

"The wall is generally seven or eight foot thick; but the outside wall of stone or battlements above the Terra-plene, is not more than two foot in thickness.

"The four corners have each of them a bastion; on the long side to the west-ward are two other bastions; and on the side to east-ward one bastion, one demi-bastion, and two other works which are commonly called platforms.

"There are four gates—Bishop's gate at the south-east end, Ship-quay gate at the end opposite to it, Butcher's gate at the north-east side, and Ferry-quay gate over against it.

"In the middle of the town is a square, called the Diamond, where the market-house stands (during the siege turned into a guard-house).

"Near the south-west end of the town stands the church, on the top whereof, being a flat roof, were placed two of our guns, which were of great use in annoying the enemy. In the south-east angle of the town was the principal magazine. Within the town also were several wells; and before Bishop's gate was a ravelin built by colonel Lundy; and the ground on forwards to the Wind-mill hill, was taken in by the besieged to the distance of 260 paces from the town, and about the same distance across the river, and for fear this ground should be taken from the besieged by the enemy, another line was industriously drawn from the south-west quarter of the town to the river to secure their retreat.

"The number of guns placed on the bastions and line, was eight sakers, and twelve demi-culverins.

"The whole town stands upon an easy ascent, and exposed most of the houses to the enemy's guns."* This description of the city and fortifications of Derry as it then stood, needs no addition to impress the reader with a sufficient sense of the bravery of the gallant and devoted men who now united to defend it to extremity. But in addition to all the disadvantages of situation under which they laboured, they were encumbered with a large and helpless crowd of women, children, and aged people, most of whom were fugitives, who had gathered in from the surrounding districts, and served no end but to consume their provisions, and dishearten them with complaints and sufferings. Under such trying circumstances, the brave defenders of Londonderry entered on their task; to the companies, divided as we have said, were allotted their several posts, and each was taught to man its own bastion at the moment of necessity. The duty of maintaining the spirit of the garrison was divided between the eighteen clergymen of the English church, and seven presbyterian ministers, who each in rotation addressed their respective congregations; and while they animated their zeal and fired their valour by strong representations of the justice and emergency of their cause, at the same time directed their thoughts to the only true source of strength and hope of success.

* Description prefixed to Walker's History of the Siege.

On the 20th April, the besiegers marched towards Pennyburn hill, and took up a position which separated the city from the fort of Culmore. On the same day Mr Bennet was sent from the garrison to England, to give an account of their condition, and assurances of their resolution to hold out to the last. The soldiers were ordered to fire after him as he went, that he might be supposed to be a deserter from the city. This day also, many messages were sent in to induce a surrender, but all were in vain; and on the following day, a demi-culverin began to fire on the city at the distance of about 1260 yards, but without any material effect. This ineffective demonstration was answered by a vigorous sally, which seems to have taken the besiegers by surprise, as they lost two hundred of their men, with the French general Mammont, and six other officers of rank. They rallied, and the sallying party made good their retreat with the loss of four soldiers and one lieutenant. On this occasion, the horse led by Colonel Murray, about fifty in number, were so closely pressed in their retreat, that Mr Walker was under the necessity of mounting one of the horses, and riding out to rally them, as their brave leader was surrounded by the enemy. The whole were thus brought off, and three pair of colours were the honourable trophy of this first trial of their valour.

The enemy, dissatisfied with such results, soon contrived to bring their artillery within a closer range; and at the distance of about 650 yards, opened a fire which told severely upon the houses, which by the elevation of the city were exposed to their range. The besieged, in no way disheartened, returned their fire with no less spirit, and many fell on both sides. Among the numerous casualties on record, Mr Walker mentions one which is curious enough for repetition. A bomb thrown by the besiegers from Mr Strong's orchard, fell into a room where several officers were at dinner; it lighted upon a bed, bursting its way into the room underneath, exploded and killed the owner of the house, and struck down the wall, so that the officers, all untouched, came out of the opening thus made.

After suffering a loss of several men from another sally, the besiegers found reason to be dissatisfied with their progress, and drew a new line across Windmill hill "from the bog to the river," and planted a new battery. But the effect was trifling, and only drew forth from the gallant men within, a contemptuous exhortation to spare the labour and expense, reminding them that the breach which they toiled so vainly to effect was needless, as they kept their gates open, which they might find wide enough if they had the courage to try.

The danger was however more truly appreciated by the commanders, and it was felt to be necessary to take immediate and decisive steps. Having consulted with Baker and the other principal officers of the garrison, Walker resolved on a sally; he selected ten men out of each company, and having put them in "the best order their impatience would allow," he led them out at the Ferry gate, at four in the morning. They advanced with silent rapidity, and dividing, one part of them dislodged the enemy's dragoons from the hedge behind which they were posted, and the remainder seized possession of the trenches. There was but slight resistance, as the enemy were borne down at

every point by the impetuosity of the assault, and soon began to save themselves in great confusion; they left two hundred dead on the field, and had five hundred wounded so severely that above three hundred died within a few days. Among the killed there was a general officer, with seven of inferior rank, and four taken prisoners, with five pair of colours.

The immediate result of this well-conducted and successful sally was a considerable abatement of the enemy's courage, and for the following fortnight they kept very much in the back ground. The want of horse restrained the besieged, who were of the two the more willing to assume the offensive. Some time thus passed, without any material change in the position of either side. The interval was not however without adventure. Several officers, among whom captain Noble is especially mentioned by Walker, made occasional sallies at the head of small detachments mostly not exceeding ten or twelve, whenever any party of the enemy were seen to approach; and these, sometimes becoming entangled with superior numbers, were relieved by fresh assistance from the walls. On all these occasions the enemy were compelled to retire with loss, while that of the city detachments was very slight. The difference in the composition of the force on either side seems to have been very much to the disadvantage of the besiegers; and, as most commonly will be found, the moral inferiority was not less than the physical. Many were discouraged by the consciousness of a bad cause, and the conduct of the besiegers was itself not unworthy of it. Their attempts at negotiation were so marked by treachery, that no reliance could in the slightest matter be placed on their most solemn pledge; of this there are many instances. Among them, it is mentioned by Walker, that "having hung out a white flag to invite to a treaty, Mr Walker ventured out to come within hearing of my lord Lowth, and Colonel O'Neile, and in his passage had a hundred shots fired at him; he got the shelter of a house, and upbraided them with this perfidious dealing, and bid them order their men to be quiet, or he would order all the guns on the walls to fire on them; they denied they were concerned or knew any thing of it, and this was all the satisfaction to be expected from persons of such principles."* Besides many similar acts of the most atrocious falsehood and treachery, it was ascertained by the confessions of several prisoners that there was an avowed and distinct understanding among the besiegers that no faith was to be kept with the besieged.

The besieging army was removed from Johnstown to Ballyagry hill, about two miles from the town; but sentries were posted at such stations as made it a matter of great danger for any one to approach the wells outside the town, and the want of water within having become extreme, this danger was constantly braved by the citizens. Many were thus slain; and a gentleman is mentioned by Walker, who had the bottle shot from his mouth at one of these wells.

On the fourth of June, the enemy made an assault in considerable force on the works at Windmill hill, then in possession of the citizens. They were repulsed with great loss. Among the incidents of this

* Walker's History of the Siege.

conflict, there are some which indicate plainly that the advantages of courage and discipline lay with the citizens. The assailants exhibited great surprise when they found that their antagonists, instead of firing a volley and running away, reserved two-thirds of their discharge, and stood firing in successive volleys as they came on. Colonel Butler, son to lord Mountgarret, and thirty horsemen, having forced their way to the top of the works, the city party were astonished to find that their bullets took no effect upon them; but captain Crooke remarked that they were cased in armour, and ordered that the horses should be aimed at, which was so effectually obeyed, that of the thirty but three succeeded in getting off. "We wondered," writes Walker, "that the foot did not run faster, till we took notice that in their retreat they took the dead on their backs, and so preserved their own bodies from the remainder of our shot, which was more service than they did while they were alive." On this occasion, the enemy's loss was four hundred, with nine officers slain and seven taken; while the city lost but six privates and one officer—a plain proof of the superior character of their force. This disastrous repulse appears to have animated the councils of the besiegers with an impatient wish to retaliate. On the same night they opened a severe and destructive bombardment on the city, the effects of which were terrific: "they plowed up our streets, and broke down our houses, so that there was no passing the streets nor staying within doors, but all flock to the walls and the remotest parts of the town, &c."* This new mode of attack was attended with more serious results than any to be apprehended from their prowess in the field. Mr. Walker gives a lively description of it. "They plied the besieged so close with great guns in the day-time, and with bombs in the night and sometimes in the day, that they could not enjoy their rest, but were hurried from place to place and tired into faintness and diseases, which destroyed many of the garrison, which was reduced to 6185 men on the 15th of this month; these bombs were some advantage to us on one account; for being under great want of fuel, they supplied us plentifully from the houses they threw down, and the timber they broke for us."† There cannot indeed easily be found a more striking illustration of the heroism that can gather "resolution from despair."

In the course of these proceedings, the spring had passed without any progress on the side of the besiegers, while the brave defenders of the city, unimpressed by the arms of their enemy, were beginning to feel the severest extremities of toil, exposure and privation. In the beginning of June, the allowance of food for the several companies had sunk to the lowest amount consistent with the bare support of life; the garrison dragged on a sickly existence of prolonged starvation, and though the noble spirit of resistance was still unshaken, yet the animal energy which had so often repelled the assault from their gates, and which stood unmoved amidst the daily cannonade which had already laid their city in the dust under their feet, was sadly broken; the brave soldiers and citizens of Londonderry were become so enfeebled, that the summer heats, now setting in, were scarcely to be

* Walker's Hist.

† Walker's Hist.

endured by their attenuated frames; and, already more thinned in their force by famine and unwholesome living, than by the enemy, exhausted nature now began to give way with accelerated rapidity. On the 7th of June, three distant ships were seen to approach the river, which awakened a momentary hope of relief; but unhappily they were soon deterred by the apparent dangers of the entrance, and after some vain hesitation sailed away.

On the 15th June, a fleet of thirty sail appeared in Lough Foyle, and once more excited anxious expectation in the fainting garrison. The obstacles were nevertheless of the most formidable character; the besiegers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition, raised strong batteries on Charles fort, at the narrow part of the river, where the ships must pass before they could reach the town; they also lined the bank on both sides with musquetry. In addition to these preparations, they contrived to fasten a strong boom across the water, which, by arresting the entrance of the ships just under their guns, would have exposed them to the fullest effect of their fire. Such obstacles demanded the spirit of a Rodney or a Nelson, and were far too discouraging for Kirke. Signals not very intelligible to either were exchanged from the steeple of the cathedral and the masts of the fleet; and at last a messenger sent from the ships contrived by swimming to reach the city, and convey information. From him they learned the amount of relief intended for them and contained in the ships. Another messenger despatched at the same time had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and was suborned to make delusive statements to the garrison; for which purpose they hung out a white flag, and offered to permit the garrison to communicate with their prisoner. The trick was however ineffectual.

Kirke retired, but employed a little boy who twice succeeded in making his way into the city, baffling the search of the enemy by the dexterity with which his letters were secreted. One letter he carried in his garter; the second was sewed in a cloth button. Kirke's letter will here convey the immediate position of affairs,—it is addressed to governor Walker.

“Sir,—I have received yours by the way of Inch. I writ to you Sunday last, that I would endeavour all means imaginable for your relief, and find it impossible by the river, which made me send a party to Inch, where I am going myself to try if I can beat off their camp, or divert them, so that they shall not press you. I have sent officers, ammunition, arms, great guns, &c., to Inniskillin, who have three thousand foot, one thousand five hundred horse, and a regiment of dragoons that has promised to come to their relief, and at the same time, I will attack the enemy by Inch. I expect six thousand men from England every minute, they having been shipt these eight days. I have stores and victuals for you, and am resolved to relieve you. England and Scotland are in a good posture, and all things are very well settled; be good husbands of your victuals, and by God's help we shall overcome these barbarous people. Let me hear from you as often as you can, and the messenger shall have what reward he will. I have several of the enemy has deserted to me, who all assure me they cannot stay long. I hear from Inniskillin the Duke of Berwick

is beaten, I pray God it be true, for then nothing can hinder them joining you or me.

"Sir, your faithful servant,

"J. KIRKE."

"To Mr George Walker."

About the middle of June, Baker was become too seriously ill to take any part in the further conduct of the defences, and by his own desire colonel Mitchelburn was appointed in his place, as governor in commission together with Walker. The object of this provision as explained by Walker, being in order that one might be always present in the town when the other commanded the sallies, and also, in case of death to avoid the danger of new elections.

About six days after, the besiegers were joined by field Marshal Conrade De Rosen, a French officer whom James had made commander in chief of the Irish armies. De Rosen, as often occurs to those who come fresh and untried to scenes of difficulty, despised the enemy, and conducted himself much as if he thought the defenders of the city might be intimidated into a surrender by oaths, imprecations and menaces, which only excited their contempt; he also had recourse to persuasion and promises, which had no greater effect,—“God having under all our difficulties,” writes Walker, “established us with a spirit and resolution above all fear or temptation to any mean compliances, we having devoted our lives to the defence of our city, our religion, &c.” So great indeed was that devotion, that feeling themselves tottering upon the very verge of visible destruction, and considering the temptation to save themselves in their emergency so great by a surrender which they thought infamous, the governors thought fit at this period to forbid the mere mention of surrender, on pain of death. The desertions began to be numerous, as among the crowd there were necessarily many who were more awake to safety and the wants of animal nature, than to honour and the dictates of conscience. The balls were spent, and for their cannon they were necessitated to use bricks coated with lead, yet with these clumsy substitutes they seldom fired without execution. De Rosen on his part was not deficient in the active employment of the various resources of war to distress the city and shorten its defences: he planted new batteries, formed new lines and began a mine to destroy the half bastion near the gate at Bog-street. All these elaborate preparations were frustrated by the commanders of the garrison, by whom his mine was countermined, and his foremost and bravest men killed by well directed discharges from the walls. One evening late, a regiment under the command of lord Clancarty contrived to enter the works of the city, and even lodged several men in a cellar under the bastion. Captains Noble, Dunbar and others, were ordered to steal out at the Bishop’s gate and creep silently round by the wall until they came unexpectedly upon the enemy, who as yet thought that they had the whole matter to themselves; precisely following the direction of the governor, the sallying party came round until they were very near the assailants, who immediately saluted them with a hurried and ineffectual fire; they received the discharge with the most thorough composure, and advanced without returning it until they

came "to a right distance," and then opened a deadly fire. Almost at same instant a discharge from the walls followed up their fire, and lord Clancarty with his men were compelled to fly, abandoning the mines, and leaving a hundred soldiers dead on the spot.

- On the 30th June the gallant Baker died, and was interred in the Cathedral, with the sorrow and the state due to his merit.

The garrison was by this time reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh, dogs, cats, rats and mice, greaves of a year old, tallow, starch, dried hides, &c. A statement of Walker's, giving the prices at which these articles were sold in the markets, will convey some idea of the condition to which they were reduced.

Horse flesh sold for, per pound,	£0	1	8
A quarter of a Dog, fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish,	0	5	6
A Dog's head,	0	2	6
A Cat,	0	4	6
A Rat,	0	1	0
A Mouse,	0	0	6
A small Flock taken in the river, not to be bought for money, or purchased under the rate of a quantity of meal.			
A pound of Greave,	0	1	0
A pound of Tallow,	0	4	0
A pound of salted Hides,	0	1	0
A quart of Horse blood,	0	1	0
A Horse pudding,	0	0	6
A handful of sea Wreck,	0	0	2
Do. of Chicken weed,	0	0	1
A quart of Meal when found,	0	1	0

A fact mentioned by Walker somewhat amusingly illustrates this state of want. A fat gentleman, conceiving himself in so much danger of being eaten, by those whose grim and famished looks seemed to his frightened apprehension, to indicate a strong disposition to such a meal, hid himself for three days and endeavoured by abstinence to disencumber himself of an obesity so dangerously attractive to the eye of starvation. Yet in the midst of all this trying distress, the spirit of the soldiers never flagged, and their conversation was full of hope and resolution.

The enemy who failed to conquer their spirit, made some attempts to sow division in the garrison, and contrived to propagate a report which caused some excitement, that Walker had a large store of provisions secreted in his own house. The governor contrived to have a search proposed, by which such suspicions were turned aside and he was fully restored to the confidence of the army. Negotiations of a fraudulent nature, and illusory representations, were at the same time had recourse to. Lieutenant-general Hamilton whom the reader may recollect as having made king William the dupe of a mistaken confidence in his honour, sent to offer conditions, and received from Walker and his heroic companions for answer, that they much wondered that he could expect their confidence, having already so unworthily broken faith with the king; that though an enemy, he had

once been generously trusted, yet betrayed the trust; and it was not to be believed that he would learn more sincerity in an Irish camp.*

General De Rosen sent a letter to demand an immediate surrender, threatening in case of refusal to take revenge upon the surrounding districts as far as Ballishanny, Claremont, Belfast, and the barony of Inishowen, and to order the robbery of the protected as well as unprotected protestants, and have all driven to perish under the walls of their city. The proposal and menace were alike disregarded; but De Rosen was not slow in executing the threat so far as lay in his power. This officer, not without grounds in probability, but contrary to the fact, conceived the notion that none but the superior officers in the garrison could have the desperate resolution under these circumstances, thus to spurn at all conditions; and that it was impossible the soldiers could have been made aware of his offers. Thus ignorant of the spirit of the soldiers and citizens of Derry, he contrived to disperse among them, proposals and copies of his letters to their governors. Among other expedients for this purpose, a "dead shell," containing copies of the whole correspondence, was thrown into the city. He little knew the single and resolute spirit which made the garrison as one man, prefer death in any honourable form to a life of dishonourable submission to a perfidious, unscrupulous, and cruel despotism: he was not perhaps fully aware of the dreadful lesson which had been taught by Tyrconnel, who had already made it obvious to every Irish protestant, that pardon and protection were but delusions to gain some immediate purpose, and that the dupe was only let live to be hunted down as convenience might offer, by an untiring persecution from which there was no earthly refuge but in arms, or the barter of conscience and truth.

On the 2d July the menace of the French general was fulfilled, and a crowd of poor protestants was seen approaching from a distance, driven on like a herd of cattle by the troopers of De Rosen. For a short time the garrison was completely at a loss to understand the strange approach of a vast crowd of at least 30,000 persons approaching their walls; and mistaking them for the enemy, fired upon them from the walls. It was not long however before they perceived the truth, and by singular and providential accident their fire had not harmed a single person among the crowd, but passing over their heads, slew several of those drivers who were mingled in the further verge of the crowd. The governors of the city were filled with indignation by a sight so full of shame and horror: they ordered a gallows to be raised in sight of the Irish camp, and apprized De Rosen and his army that they would hang their prisoners if the poor protestants were not suffered to return to their homes. These prisoners themselves admitted that they could not complain of such a decision, and entreated to be allowed to write to Hamilton: the permission was granted, and we give the correspondence as illustrative of the miscreant spirit of those who commanded the besieging army. The following was the letter written by the prisoners:—

* Walker's Diary.

"My Lord,—Upon the hard dealing the protected, as well as other protestants have met withal, in being sent under the walls, you have so incensed the governor and others of this garrison, that we are all condemned by a court-martial to dye to-morrow, unless these poor people be withdrawn. We have made application to marshal-general De Rosen, and having received no answer, we make it our request to you, (as knowing you are a person that does not delight in shedding innocent blood) that you will represent our condition to the marshal-general. The lives of twenty prisoners lye at stake, and therefore require your diligence and care. We are all willing to die (with our swords in our hands) for his majesty; but to suffer like malefactors is hard, nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the governor and the rest having used and treated us with all civility imaginable.—Your most dutiful and dying friends,

"NETERVILLE,

"E. BUTLER,

"G. AYLMER,

"—— MACDONNEL,

"—— DARCY, &c., in the name of all the rest.

"Writ by another hand, he himself has lost the fingers of his right hand.

"*To Lieutenant-general Hamilton.*"

To this, Hamilton returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen,—In answer to yours, what these poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault; which they may prevent by accepting the conditions (which) have been offered them. And if *you* suffer in this, it cannot be helped, but shall be revenged on many thousands of those people, as well innocent as others, within or without that city!"

An epistle of which the brutality cannot easily be exceeded in so few words.

Still, the lieutenant-general took two days to consider the danger of his own disgraceful position, and the real consequences which should be the result of persisting in the cruel expedient he had adopted; and feeling that if the garrison fulfilled their menace, he should stand committed to outrages too shameful even for him, resolved to comply and purchase the safety of the prisoners by suffering the protestants to disperse to their homes. The commanders of the garrison on their part, obtained some advantage from this barbarous proceeding, as they thus contrived to get rid of 500 useless persons. This the enemy endeavoured in vain to prevent, and even pretended that they could distinguish by smelling, those who had been in the city,—and the assertion is not quite improbable. Some able men were also thus obtained for the service of the garrison.

By many conversations from the walls, they ascertained the edifying fact which should not be omitted in this history, that the native portion of the force under De Rosen was treated with contempt and neglect. The Irish soldiers expressed "great prejudice and hatred of the French, cursing those damned fellows that walked in trunks,

(meaning their jack-boots,) *that had all preferments in the army that fell*, and took the bread out of their mouths, and they believed would have all the kingdom to themselves at last." A belief quite warranted by reason and experience, however the rude Irish soldier may have reached it.

The effects of disease and famine may be clearly estimated at this period of the siege, from the statement of Walker: considering that the losses occasioned by any other means were but trifling.

July 8,	the garrison is reduced to	5520,		
— 13,	do.	do.	5313,	loss in 5 days, 207
— 17,	do.	do.	5114,	4 — 299
— 22,	do.	do.	4973,	5 — 141
— 25,	do.	do.	4892,	3 — 81

Total in 17 days, . . . 728*

Giving thus an average loss of near forty-three a day, from the mere effects of exposure and starvation. A state of suffering which is strikingly exemplified by the fact, that in a sally which they made on the 25th of July, in the hope of carrying off some of the besiegers' cattle, though they slew 300, yet it was remarked that many of the sallying party fell by the force of their own blows. A remarkable illustration also of the superiority of moral power over the mere animal strength of a rude multitude.

Under these circumstances Walker began to fear for the constancy of the garrison, of whom more than four hundred perished within the next two days, making upwards of 2000 per month. He felt in himself an unshaken confidence that they could not be entirely deserted by overruling Providence, and endeavoured to impart his own faith and spirit to the garrison on the 30th in a discourse delivered in the cathedral, in which he reminded them of the many signal deliverances they had received, of the importance of their defence to the protestant religion, and enforced from these considerations the inference that when at the worst they would obtain deliverance.

About an hour after, they espied from the wall three large vessels approaching the harbour, which they rightly conjectured to be sent by Kirke for their relief. The anxious suspense of the famine-struck defenders of Londonderry needs no description: they hung out a red flag from the steeple of the cathedral, and fired several guns to express their extremity of distress: a loud and simultaneous cry, "now or never," broke from a thousand voices, as the ships approached the point of danger, under the guns of the enemy; and a furious cannonade for some minutes arrested their entrance. The ships returned the fire with spirit, and still proceeded without wavering a moment, until the Mountjoy, commanded by captain Browning, having struck the boom and broken it, was thrown upon the sands by the recoil. The enemy set up a tremendous shout, and rushed forward to board the vessel: but firing her broadside among them, she was carried back by the shock of her own guns, and floated again. The contest after this was quickly at an end: the three vessels entered without any further impediment:

* Walker's Diary.

they were the Phoenix and the Mountjoy transports, commanded by captains Douglas and Browning, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, captain Leake: they contained a large and needful supply of beef, meal, and other provisions—and the Heroes of Derry were saved, just when their entire provision was barely enough to keep them two days more alive. At this moment there remained alive 4300 men, of 7300 originally numbered within the garrison. Their provision consisted of nine lean horses, and one pint of meal per man. It remains to be added, that the gallant captain Browning, with four of his men, were slain by the enemy's fire, while the Mountjoy was aground.

We need not dwell further upon the particulars of this most interesting event. The siege was at an end; the enemy had been taught to appreciate the spirit of Derry too well at its last ebb, to risk any further encounter. They drew off to Strabane. They had scarcely completed their encampment, when they heard of the bloody defeat of general Macarthy by the Enniskillen men; and wisely reflected that their safest course was furthest from the scope of such rude encounters. They broke four guns, and threw twelve cart-loads of military store into the river, and marched with discreet precipitation to safer quarters. Thus writes Walker, "after 105 days being closely besieged by near 20,000 men constantly supplied from Dublin, God Almighty was pleased in our utmost extremity to send relief." Nearly 9000 of the besieging army had fallen before the walls.

A few days after, a meeting of the council and chief inhabitants of Londonderry met and agreed upon an address to king William, which they committed to the care of their governor to present. Walker proceeded on his way by Scotland. He was received with every mark of respect in Glasgow, which claimed the honour of his education. At Edinburgh he met a no less honourable reception: there he was waited on by a body of presbyterian ministers, who applied to him for some information respecting the condition of their Irish brethren, and received from him an affecting narrative of their distresses and sufferings. By this city he was admitted as a burgess and guild brother, and received from the town clerk, Æneas M'Cleod, a formal certificate of his admission to this honour. Pursuing his route to London, he was met at Barnet by Sir R. Cotton, who came to meet him, and conveyed him from thence in his coach to London. During his journey, a letter from the king addressed to him and to Mitchelburn had reached Londonderry, in which his majesty expressed in strong terms his sense of what was due to them for their efforts in preserving that city, and acknowledging that he looked upon it as his duty to reward their services as commanders in that heroic and unequalled defence. The university of Cambridge showed a sense worthy of itself, of the importance of these services by a degree of doctor. Soon after his arrival, Walker attended a meeting of the Irish Society, to which he detailed the effects of the siege in destroying the greater part of the town, and suggested the necessity of assistance for the purpose of its being fitted for the re-occupation of the citizens. The society acted at once upon the suggestion, and on its application the corporate authorities of London set on foot an effective contribution to the required end of relieving the sufferers and repairing the town. At the same time abate-

ments were made in the rents, and timber gratuitously supplied for the work of repair.*

At this time Walker prepared his diary of the siege, from which the chief part of this memoir is drawn. It was received with great applause; but was not long unattacked by a pamphlet, written by Mr Mackenzie, the presbyterian minister of Cookestown, whose account of the same transactions, more in detail and substantially correct, is generally allowed to be written with a feeling invidious towards Walker, and not to be trusted so far as it may be construed to affect his account. This was followed by a succession of pamphlets by the friends and partisans on either side; the controversy was closed by Walker's vindication of his diary, which a recent writer of considerable authority has justly called unanswerable: we transcribe the conclusion of this document, of which the learned writer just cited very truly observes, that it "will be sufficient to excite a wish that more of his writings had been preserved."

"Mr Walker has not taken pains to satisfy those who do him the honour to confess that God has been pleased to make him an instrument of some good to them, and yet seem angry with him without reason. He has not taken those pains to satisfy them, or establish himself in their esteem, as if it were a discouragement to want their good opinion. He does not know whether it would be for his credit to have it, for there is 'woe against him of whom all men speak well,' and he is well pleased to want that mark, and he knows that no man can be so innocent, but he must endure reflections and abuses, and that therefore the slanderer's throat is called an open sepulchre like death, that all men must submit to, and in such cases Mr Walker is not so unreasonable as to desire to be singular only as he could not propose to get any reputation by writing, so he had some hopes he should not lose any by it. He has written this vindication of his account of the siege of Derry, not that he thinks he has so great an occasion to satisfy himself as to satisfy others, and that he thinks that he ought, in justice to all those poor gentlemen and people who were concerned with him in Derry, to keep up the reputation of their service, that they may never receive any stain from the dirt or scandals any envious persons can throw upon them, to prejudice them in the king's favour, or the sense he has so often been pleased to express of their fidelity and courage.

"He has been upbraided with having given a very imperfect account of the siege of Derry, and that matter he will not dispute with his enemies; for it is impossible it could be otherwise, or that the little time and convenience he had to be exact in such a thing could prevent it. He is the more willing to allow this, because two very extraordinary things occur to him, which at the time of writing the book he had forgotten, and they being so considerable in demonstrating that providence which attended the defence of the town, and that was so remarkable in its deliverance, he begs to insert them in this paper.

"In the account of the siege you may find that people were every day

* Ordnance survey, County History.—Rev. John Graham.

going out of Derry; the enemy by that means had constant intelligence, and we had reason to be under great apprehension and concern, more especially for our ammunition; we therefore considered how to prevent that, and having a great quantity in Mr Campsie's cellar we removed it to another place. The very next day after we had removed it, a bomb broke into the cellar, and if our gunpowder had been there we should certainly have been destroyed.

"Another thing of as great moment was omitted, and that was, a bomb from the enemy broke into a cellar near Butcher's Gate. Some had the curiosity to examine what mischief it had done, and there they saw seven men dead, that had been working at a mine unknown to us, and that if it had not been for so miraculous a counter-mine, they might have gone on with their work and ruined us. Mr Walker will not say but there may be other as considerable things omitted, but they too nearly concern himself, and it would not become him to sound his own praises, more than it would to reproach others."

On the differences between Walker and Mackenzie, Harris observes, "There are some variances between the account of the siege of Derry published by Dr Walker, and the narrative of it drawn up by Mr John Mackenzie, who were both present and in action during the siege—the former a clergyman of the church of Ireland, and the other a dissenting minister, and chaplain of a regiment there in that busy time; and these variances are to be accounted of only from the consideration of the different tempers and interests of parties, which often lead good men astray. Mr Mackenzie is much more circumstantial than Dr Walker, who gives only a diary of the circumstances just as they happened; a method which naturally engages our belief. I have extracted from them both, where they do not clash; and sometimes show where they do. In his account of the election of governors after the escape of Lundy, Dr Walker alleges, that himself and major Baker were chosen to that office; on the other hand Mr Mackenzie gives the election to major Baker alone, who named Dr Walker to be his assistant in the siege, and he was properly only governor or commissary of the stores. It is unaccountable that Dr Walker, who published his diary in London immediately after the raising of the siege, should assume to himself an office by election, to which he was not elected. This would be a strain of falsity of which thousands could contradict him. But the truth of Dr Walker's assertion is evinced by this, that he signs first in all the public instruments and orders passed during the siege; and his memory is vindicated against Mr Mackenzie's insinuations by a pamphlet published in 1690, entitled, 'Mr Mackenzie's narrative, a false libel,' to which the reader is referred; wherein not only this point, but many others are set right.*"

From the House of Commons Walker received a vote of thanks and a grant of £5000—a stinted and insignificant return for the services he had performed; nor was its inadequacy redeemed by the bishopric of Londonderry, which the king is generally asserted to have bestowed upon him, but of which he never took possession. From the public,

* Harris' life of William III.

the Irish society, and the House of Commons, he received however a full allowance of all the empty honour which he had so richly earned: he probably found more real satisfaction in the opportunity allowed him of serving the city, for which he had already risked his life and spent his substance, by means of the weighty influence which his statements had acquired. On his advice the house addressed the king in behalf of the sufferers of Londonderry. They also instituted an inquiry into the circumstances of the mismanagement of Irish affairs, and into the causes of the misfortunes of the army. On these subjects Walker's testimony was important, and received as decisive. The misconduct of Lundy in abandoning the passes, and in various ways opposing and preventing the defence of the city entrusted to his care, and the no less detrimental treachery of Sheils (or Shales) the purveyor, were clearly exposed by his testimony.

He received an invitation from the Oxford University, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and a Diploma, in which he is described in these terms, "*Reverendus vir Georgius Walker, strenuus ipse ac invictus Civitatis Derensis propugnator, atque eodem facto totius Hiberniæ, uti speramus, conservator atque vindex. Die Mar. 2, 1689.*"

Before his departure from London, Walker was entertained by the city, and nothing appears to have been wanting to mark the sense of his merits on the part of the English public. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and whenever he chanced to be recognised in the streets, the populace showed their admiration, and the public feeling of England, by following him in crowds.

When he was on his way to present the address of the citizens of Londonderry, he was advised to appear in the uniform of a lieutenant-general before the king; but, with better taste and sounder sense of principle, Walker rejected this absurd counsel, and presented himself in his canonical attire. By the king he was received with the kindness and favour so justly his due; and in addition to other marks of respect, Sir Godfrey Kneller was commanded to paint a portrait of him for the king.*

On William's arrival in Ireland, Walker was among those who received him on the quay of Carrickfergus, and accompanied him to the battle of the Boyne, where he received a mortal wound, as he was crossing the river with Schomberg. He was interred at his own church at Castle Caulfield. "In the year 1703," writes Mr Graham, "a very handsome monument was erected in the wall over them [his remains] by his widow. He had put the church, which is a very fine one, in complete order, a short time before the revolution, as is recorded on an inscription over the door of it. It seemed when the writer of these memoirs saw it in 1829, to have undergone no material change since Walker's day, but was then in good repair. The following is a copy of the inscription under the monument of this heroic man. It is surmounted by his family arms, finely represented on a marble slab:—

* Graham.

P. M. S.
 Hic Juxt. lector,
 Reverendi Georgii Walker, S.T.D.
 Hujus Parochiæ olim Rectoris,
 Ossa reconduntur.
 Ille cujus vigilantia et virtute
 Londini Deriensis Civitas
 Anno MDCLXXXIX,
 A Gulielmi III. et fidei hostibus
 Liberata Stetit,
 Ad Boandi fluminis ripam
 Pro eadem causa adversus eosdem
 Hostes,
 Anno MDCXC.
 Occisus cecidit.
 Cujus reliquiis et memoriæ
 Mæstissima adhuc illius vidua
 Isabella Walker
 Hoc monumentum posuit
 Anno MDCCIII.

Saxo autem erit Fama perennior,
 Nec futura minus quam præsentia secula
 Tam purum Militem, tam fortem Sacerdotem,
 Mirabuntur.*

There is no reference made here to the fact mentioned by Lord Macaulay, that, shortly before his death, the subject of it had become bishop-elect of the rich see of Derry. Learning on his march to the field of the Boyne, that this see had become vacant, William immediately bestowed it upon the brave defender of Londonderry, who was forthwith loaded with felicitations from every quarter. The presence of our hero with the army of William, and the circumstance of his death on the occasion of that fight, has been interpreted by this noble historian with acrimony, and even injustice, to the memory of our hero. So far was George Walker from having, as stated by him, 'contracted a passion for war;' from having 'forgotten that the peculiar circumstances which had justified him on becoming a combatant had ceased to exist;' from being 'determined to be wherever danger was; or from exposing himself in such a way as to excite the disgust of his royal patron;' so untrue was it, as Lord Macaulay asserts, that, 'while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, Walker was shot dead,' that in fact Walker did not take any part whatever in the military work of this campaign. Deputed by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian clergy of Ulster to present congratulatory addresses to William on his arrival in Ireland, Walker waited on him for that purpose at Belfast on the 19th of June, and was then requested to accompany him on his march for the sake of the information he could impart as to the country and the people. That the substantial liberality of William, shown a few days after to the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster,—the origin of the donation so long bestowed on them by the English government,—was the effect in some degree of Walker's representations, there cannot be reasonable doubt.

* Graham.

The Londonderry and Enniskillen troops, did not join the army till nearly the eve of the battle, and therefore Walker could not truly be represented as accompanying them on the march from Belfast. He did not enter the fight with them; he did not even enter the Boyne at the same spot, nor until long after they had passed and won themselves a footing on the south bank; nor was he slain near where they were in contention. He seems to have remained near Duke Schomberg on the north bank until the latter, seeing the French Protestant regiments driven into the stream, and their brave commander carried back mortally wounded across the ford, thought the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Walker accompanied him to the brink of the river, and may perhaps unconsciously have followed, sometime after, into the stream; but it was a stray cannon shot which terminated his life, while a (perhaps too near) spectator of the fight.

"Five generations have since passed away; and still the wall of Londonderry is to the protestants of Ulster what the trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians. A lofty pillar, rising from a bastion which bore during many weeks the heaviest fire of the enemy, is seen from far up and down the Foyle. On the summit is the statue of Walker, such as when, in the last and most terrible emergency, his eloquence roused the fainting courage of his brethren. In one hand he grasps a Bible. The other, pointing down the river, seems to direct the eyes of his famished audience to the English topmasts in the distant bay." "There is still a Walker club and a Murray club. The humble tombs of the protestant captains have been carefully sought out, repaired, and embellished." "It is impossible;" adds Lord Macaulay, from whom we have copied, "not to respect the sentiment which indicates itself by these tokens. A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve any thing worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, VISCOUNT BOYNE.

BORN A. D. 1639—DIED A. D. 1723.

At the same time with the events related in the preceding memoir, other incidents of little less historical interest were occurring in the neighbouring territories. Of these we shall now have occasion to relate the most memorable, as the illustrious soldier whose name and title stand at the head of the present memoir, was among the few Irishmen who bore a principal part in the wars of the revolution in Ireland.

In the latter end of the reign of James I., Sir Frederick Hamilton, a descendant of the Scottish Hamiltons, who stood high among the most noble and ancient families of Europe, having obtained great distinction under the standard of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, came over and served in Ireland, where he obtained considerable grants. His youngest son Gustavus, so called after the Swedish king, was a captain in the Irish army toward the end of the reign of Charles II. In 1667, he was among those who attended on the duke of Ormonde at the university of Oxford, and obtained on that occasion its degree of doctor of laws.

On the accession of James II., he was sworn of his privy council; but when it became evident that this feeble monarch, being engaged in an attempt to overthrow the constitution and church of England, was seeking to break up those institutions under which Ireland had been advancing into civilization and freedom, for the purpose of more surely effecting his purposes in England, Hamilton indicated that his first duty belonged to the church and constitution by resigning his seat at the Council board, and having thereupon been deprived of his commission by Tyrconnel, retired to reside on an estate in the county of Fermanagh.

Enniskillen, though then as now the capital of this county, was at this time merely a village. It was built on an island surrounded by the river which joins the two beautiful sheets of water known by the common name of Lough Erne. The stream and both the lakes were overhung on every side by natural forests. The village consisted of about eighty dwellings clustering around an ancient castle, long time the seat of the Coles. The inhabitants were, with scarcely an exception, Protestants; and boasted that their town had been true to the Protestant cause through the terrible rebellion which broke out in 1641. Early in December, 1688, and about the time of the scene of the 'Prentice Boys' of Londonderry, they received from Dublin an intimation that two companies of Popish infantry were to be immediately quartered on them. The alarm of the little community was great, and the greater because it was known that a preaching friar had been exerting himself to inflame the Irish population of the neighbourhood against the heretics. A daring resolution was taken. Come what might, the troops should not be admitted. Yet not ten pounds of powder, not twenty firelocks fit for use, could be collected within the walls. Messengers were sent with pressing letters to summon the Protestant gentry of the vicinage to the rescue; and the summons was gallantly obeyed. Among others came the subject of our memoir. In a few hours two hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty horse had assembled. Tyrconnel's soldiers were already at hand. They brought with them a considerable supply of arms to be distributed among the peasantry, who, greeting the royal standard with delight, accompanied the march in great numbers. The townsmen and their allies, instead of waiting to be attacked, came boldly forth to encounter the intruders, who were confounded when they saw confronting them a column of foot, flanked by a large body of mounted gentlemen and yeomen. The crowd of camp followers ran away in terror. The soldiers made a retreat so precipitate that it might be called a flight, and scarcely halted till they were thirty miles off in Cavan.

Elated by this easy victory, the Protestants proceeded to make arrangements for the government and defence of Enniskillen and of the surrounding country. Gustavus Hamilton was appointed Governor, and took up his residence in the castle. Trusty men were enlisted and armed with great expedition. As there was a scarcity of swords and pikes, smiths were employed to make weapons by fastening scythes on poles. All the country houses round Lough Erne were turned into garrisons. No Papist was suffered to be at large in the

town; and the friar who was accused of exerting his eloquence against the English was cast into prison.

When it was known, as previously related, that Lord Mountjoy had been sent by Tyrconnel to reduce again Londonderry and Enniskillen to obedience after these outbreaks, and had come to satisfactory terms with the former, a deputation, consisting of our hero and others, was sent by the defenders of the latter to excuse or justify their conduct, but obtained no great satisfaction. Enniskillen therefore kept its attitude of defence, and Mountjoy returned to Dublin.

On learning soon afterwards that a great force had been sent northward under Richard Hamilton to reduce the Protestants of Ulster to submission before aid could arrive from England, Gustavus Hamilton again returned to Londonderry to concert measures with Lundy, now left in charge of that city, for the common defence. Under discouraging circumstances, and notwithstanding the disheartenings and dissuasions of the treacherous Lundy, Hamilton undertook the defence of Coleraine, repelled a spirited attack made on that town by the whole Irish army, and gave time for concentration and aid to the cause, until the pass of Portglenone being forced and it was deemed expedient to retire into Londonderry with their stores and arms: when Hamilton returned again to his charge at Enniskillen.

The treachery of Lundy would have greatly increased the difficulties of the situation in this now famous village, but for the heroic courage of the English colonists. In the beginning of the year 1689 the Protestant inhabitants of Sligo, ejecting the garrison and corporate authorities imposed upon them by Tyrconnel, and choosing Robert earl of Kingston and Sir Chidly Coote as their commanders, had scarcely proceeded to commence their military organization when a letter from Governor Lundy from Londonderry was received, earnestly entreating these commanders would come to the assistance of that city. Scarcely, however, had these officers and their forces passed Ballyshannon when a letter was received by them from a self-appointed committee in Londonderry, to the effect that their men could not be received into that city; where they said there was no accommodation for them. No sooner had they left Sligo than Sarsfield, commanding for Tyrconnel, as designed by the treacherous Lundy, forthwith took possession of that town. In the same letter Lord Kingston was directed to advance to join the Protestants in the Lagan district, who, it was said, were awaiting his aid. Suspecting something wrong, Lord Kingston rode forward in the direction of Londonderry without delay at the head of a few horsemen, and learned that Lundy had previously caused the Protestants to leave the places to which he had directed him, while all the approaches to Londonderry itself were cut off by the enemy. Lord Kingston then made the best of his way,—surprising a French ship in Killibegs for the purpose,—with one or two officers to England, to acquaint William with the state of matters, while the body of his troops and their officers—in despite of Lundy, whose purpose it was to have them disband and fall easy victims to their mortal foes—betook themselves to Fermanagh and to the protection of its common centre of operations; the borough town of Enniskillen.

The singular unaptness of this island town for every defensive pur-

pose, commanded as it was from several heights, and especially by a conical hill which rises from the very shore of the lough over its eastern extremity, compelled its defenders to have recourse to an expedient as singular as effective, viz., to regard it simply as a centre from which to issue on every side as occasion for military enterprise presented itself; but never to allow a hostile force to approach within many miles of its site. A strong body of Protestants from Cavan with military, driven before the forces of James, proceeding to the siege of Londonderry, swelled their numbers and resources as their organization was taking shape and form. From twelve companies, under Gustavus Hamilton as colonel, and Loyd as lieutenant-colonel, they grew into "seventeen troops of light horse, thirty companies of foot, and several ill-armed troops of heavy dragoons."

Yet the work these men had to do, unused as most of them were, not to arms, but to military organization, might well be described as Herculean. The English inhabitants of Ireland, comprising those of English descent, have been well described as an aristocratic caste, which had been enabled by superior civilization, by close union, by sleepless vigilance, and by cool intrepidity, to keep in subjection a numerous and hostile population. It is impossible to deny that, with many of the faults, they possessed all the noblest virtues of a sovereign caste; these virtues have ever been most resplendent in times of distress and peril; and never were these virtues more signally displayed than by the defenders of Londonderry and of Enniskillen, when Lundy their commander had betrayed the one as well as the other; and when the overwhelming forces of the enemy were threatening to swallow them up.

Under Gustavus Hamilton they repelled with loss in April the terrible horsemen of Lord Galmoy from the valley of the Barrow; the captain and the men most dreaded by the protestants for their rare discipline, skill in arms, barbarity and perfidy, who had sat down before Crom Castle, a miserable fort in the neighbourhood, and on the shore of the eastern Lough Erne. They maintained a vigorous partizan war against the native population. Early in May they marched to encounter a large body of troops from Connaught, who had made an inroad into Donegal. The Irish were speedily routed, and fled to Sligo, with the loss of a hundred and twenty men killed, and sixty taken. They then invaded the county of Cavan, drove before them fifteen hundred of James's troops, took and destroyed the castle of Ballincarrig, reputed the strongest in that part of the kingdom, and carried off the pikes and muskets of the garrison. The next excursion was into Meath. Three thousand oxen and two thousand sheep were swept away and brought safe to the little island of Lough Erne. These daring exploits brought terror even to the gates of Dublin. So little had been thought of the gathering at first, that Tyrconnel assured James, when on his way from Cork to that city, that it was scarcely to be named, and that Enniskillen would fall before a single company. Colonel Hugh Sutherland was now ordered to march against Enniskillen with a regiment of dragoons, and two regiments of foot. He carried with him arms for the native peasantry, and many repaired to his standard. The Enniskilleners did not wait till he came into their neighbourhood, but advanced to encounter him. He declined an action, and retreated, leaving his

stores at Belturbet, under the care of a detachment of three hundred soldiers. Gustavus Hamilton attacked Belturbet with vigour, his forces made their way into a lofty house which overlooked the town, and thence opened such a fire that in two hours the garrison surrendered. Seven hundred muskets, a great quantity of powder, many horses, many sacks of biscuits, many barrels of meal were taken, and were sent to Enniskillen. True to the provident and industrious character of their race, the colonists, unlike their enemies the Rapparees, had in the midst of war not omitted carefully to till the soil in the neighbourhood of their strongholds. The harvest was not now far remote; and till the harvest, the food taken from the enemy would be amply sufficient.

Yet in the midst of success and plenty the Enniskilleners were tortured by a cruel anxiety for Londonderry, for there could be no doubt that if Londonderry fell, the whole Irish army would instantly march in irresistible force upon Lough Erne. Detachments were therefore sent off which infested the rear of the blockading army, cut off supplies, and on one occasion carried away the horses of three entire troops of cavalry. Some brave men were for making a desperate attempt to relieve the besieged city, but the odds were too great.

Yet the Enniskilleners were not without their discouragements. A severe check, the result of overconfidence, followed on a retaliatory incursion of a strong body of horse, under the Duke of Berwick, from the army besieging Londonderry, which suddenly approached their military pale. On learning their approach, Gustavus Hamilton sent out a company of foot to occupy a close and difficult pass near the town, through which they must needs pass. With a temerity born of their successes in recent fights, instead of restraining themselves as the laws of strategy demanded, to the occupation of a position where a handful of men might have arrested the march of an army, these hardy and impetuous irregulars advanced upwards of a mile into the open, and found themselves, before they could commence or even contemplate a retreat, surrounded by an overwhelming squadron of most carefully disciplined cavalry. A few of the footmen succeeded in cutting their way through the enclosing troopers. Twenty-five slain, and twenty-six prisoners were the cost of this lesson of caution to the protestants of the district.

The illness of Hamilton himself was another discouragement. The anxieties of a position such as his could not fail to wear out the hardiest nature. Wielding an authority wholly resting on voluntary obedience, and as yet without any legal sanction, he had not only to provide food for a numerous immigrant and helpless population, to distribute rations with equal justice amongst ravenous and undisciplined soldiery, to exercise all the functions of a civil and military governor over a variety of defensive positions, but to watch with sleepless and anxious eye every point of the compass, and keep his scouts and watchmen in continued activity and unceasing communication with himself. It is no wonder, therefore, that his health gave way under the military toils added to these numerous cares.

Another discouragement was the character of the news reaching them about this time from Dublin. The proceedings in the Irish parliament, called together by James, which commenced its sittings on the 7th

of May, and was prorogued towards the end of July, excited at once their alarm and indignation. During an interval of little more than ten weeks, these proceedings proved most truly that, great as may have been the evils which protestant ascendancy has produced in Ireland, the evils produced by popish ascendancy would have been greater still. Every week came tidings that James had sanctioned some new act for robbing or murdering protestants. By one sweeping Act the tithe was transferred from the protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy; and the existing incumbents were left, without one farthing of compensation, to die of hunger. A Bill repealing the Act of Settlement, and transferring many thousands of square miles from English descendants and loyal Irish, was brought in and carried by acclamation, and although conscious of the iniquity, and protesting against it, James was actually bullied into sanctioning its provisions. But the portentous law, the law without parallel in the history of civilized nations, the murderous Act of Attainder, the measure by which three thousand persons, comprising the half of the peerage of Ireland, gentry of every grade innumerable, tradesmen, artisans, women, children, clergy, persons against whom nothing was or could be charged, except that they were disliked by those who drew it up, were doomed to be hanged, drawn and quartered without a trial, and their property to be confiscated,—and for the first time in European history, even the power of pardoning in respect to them was, after a certain period had passed, taken away from the crown,—unless the persons so named, many hundreds of whom could never learn of it, surrendered themselves to justice by an early day, this atrocious measure, which when passed was kept in strict concealment until the period for pardon had passed, which to read of even at this distance of time excites horror, is one which their recent history tells us would have been scouted even by semi-barbarians; the revolted negroes of Brazil and the bloodthirsty Indians of Guatemala. In comparison with this, the swindling by issue of base money; the conversion of old iron picked up in the streets and arsenals of the value of three-pence into coins forced into circulation at that of a guinea; while the protestants of Dublin, who were forced to receive it, were subjected to a tariff of former prices; even this open-faced robbery on the part of James, of which the news reached them by the same messengers, seems comparatively less infamous. But the cruelest of all was the treatment of those High church divines. These men, who still proclaimed the doctrine of the divine right of James, notwithstanding their exclusion from office and official functions, simply because they were protestants, were either shut up in prison or insulted and shot at by the heretic-aborring soldiery. Ronquillo, the bigoted member of the church of Rome who then represented the King of Spain at the court of James, wrote to his master about this conduct with indignation; and said that the inconveniences suffered by the Catholics in England were nothing at all in comparison with the barbarities exercised against the protestants by the Roman Catholics in Ireland. By these acts the Enniskilleners too well knew what awaited them should the Jacobites conquer all Ireland.

Nor was this all, or the worst. Irritated at the rejection of all terms offered by James, and piqued at the repeated defeats his forces had sus-

tained, it was determined at Dublin that an attack should be made upon the Enniskilleners from several quarters at once. General Macarthy, an officer descended from the ancient Irish family of that name; an officer who had long served with distinction in the French army under an assumed name; an officer who had succeeded in driving forth a thriving protestant colony from Kinsale and in reducing Munster, and who in consequence had been rewarded by James with the title of Viscount Mountcashel, marched towards Lough Erne from the east with three regiments of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and some troops of cavalry. A considerable force, which lay encamped near the mouth of the river Drouse, under the command of the celebrated Sarsfield, was at the same time to advance from the west. The Duke of Berwick was to come from the north with such horse and dragoons as could be spared from the army which was besieging Londonderry. The Enniskilleners were not fully apprised of the whole plan which had been laid for their destruction. Gustavus Hamilton received intelligence first of the approach of Sarsfield's force; and according to the method of warfare uniformly pursued by him, he sent off the gallant Loyd with a thousand men to encounter this enemy. After a rapid march of twenty miles Loyd succeeded in surprising the Munster camp, and at the close of a short and a furious contest, routed their five thousand well armed soldiers with great slaughter, and but little loss on his own side. They had no sooner returned to Enniskillen than they were apprised that Macarthy was on the road with a force exceeding any they could bring into the field; and was not far from their town. Their anxiety was in some degree relieved by the return of a deputation they had sent to Kirke, the commander of an expedition sent for the relief of Londonderry from Liverpool, and which had arrived in Lough Foyle on the fifteenth of June. "Kirke," says Lord Macaulay, "could spare no soldiers; but he had sent some arms, some ammunition, and some experienced officers, of whom the chief were Colonel Wolseley and Lieutenant-colonel Berry. These officers had come by sea round the coast of Donegal; and had run up the Erne. On Sunday, the twenty-ninth of July, it was known that their boat was approaching the island of Enniskillen. It was with difficulty they made their way to the castle through the crowds which hung on them, blessing God that dear old England had not quite forgotten the sons of Englishmen who upheld their cause against great odds, in the heart of Ireland." "Wolseley seems to have been in every respect well qualified for his post. Though himself regularly bred to war, he seems to have had a peculiar aptitude for the management of irregular troops; and his intense hatred of popery was, in the estimation of the men of Enniskillen, the first of all qualifications for command. The return of the deputation with these officers and supplies, did not take place one day too soon. On the very day previous, an account came to Enniskillen that Crom castle had been invested by the army under Mountcashel to the great alarm of its little garrison, who, as they reported in the despatch to governor Hamilton, "were totally unaccustomed to cannon." Wolseley assuming the chief command, as both Hamilton and Loyd were broken down for the time by past exertions, at once determined to raise the siege. On the very day following their arrival, he sent Berry for-

ward with such troops as could be instantly put in motion, and promised to follow speedily with a larger force.

Berry had approached within a few miles of a new position taken by Macarthy in advance, when, encountering a much more numerous body of dragoons, commanded by the notorious Anthony Hamilton, he retreated judiciously to a pass some miles in the rear, where a narrow causeway led across a marsh, with a copse of brushwood on both sides, at its further extremity, within which he placed his men. Hamilton came up immediately, and dismounting his troopers near to the causeway, commenced firing over the bog and into the copses. At the first fire of the Enniskilleners Hamilton was severely wounded. In their next discharge the second, who then assumed the command, was shot dead. More than thirty of their men fell with them. The dragoons then fled, and were pursued with great slaughter for upwards of a mile. "Macarthy soon came up to support Hamilton; and at the same time Wolseley came up to support Berry. The hostile armies were now in presence of each other. Macarthy had five thousand men and several pieces of artillery. The Enniskilleners were under three thousand; and they had marched in such haste that they had brought only one day's provisions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for them either to fight instantly or to retreat. Wolseley determined to consult the men; and this determination, which in ordinary circumstances would have been most unworthy of a general, was fully justified by the peculiar composition and temper of the little army, an army made up of gentlemen and yeomen fighting, not for pay, but for their lands, their wives, their children, and their God. The ranks were drawn up under arms; and the question was put, 'Advance or Retreat?' The answer was an universal shout of 'Advance.' He instantly made his dispositions for an attack. The enemy, to his great surprise, began to retire. The Enniskilleners were eager to pursue with all speed, but their commander, suspecting a snare, restrained their ardour, and positively forbade them to break their ranks. Thus one army retreated, and another followed, through the little town of Newtown Butler. About a mile from that town the Irish faced about and made a stand. Their position was well chosen. They were drawn up on a hill at the foot of which lay a deep bog. A narrow paved causeway which lay across the bog was the only road by which the Enniskilleners could advance; for on the right and left were pools, turf-pits, and quagmires, which afforded no footing to horses. Macarthy placed his cannon in such a manner as to sweep this causeway. Wolseley ordered his infantry to the attack. They struggled through the bog, made their way to firm ground, and rushed on the guns. There was then a short and desperate fight. The Irish cannoneers stood gallantly to their pieces till they were cut down to a man. The Enniskillen horse, no longer in danger of being mowed down by the fire of the artillery, came fast up the causeway. The Irish dragoons who had run away in the morning were smitten with another panic, and without striking a blow galloped off the field. The horse followed the example. Such was the terror of the fugitives that many of them spurred hard till their beasts fell down, and then continued to fly on foot, throwing away carbines, swords, and even coats, as encumbrances. The infantry, seeing themselves deserted, flung down

their pikes and muskets and ran for their lives." So far we have copied the account of this fight from Lord Macaulay, as not only the most concise but the most accurate. When he adds, "that now the conquerors gave loose to that ferocity which has seldom failed to disgrace the civil wars of Ireland; that the butchery was terrible; that near fifteen hundred of the vanquished were put to the sword." he does not enquire whether quarter were asked and refused, whether it was in human nature for the pursuing few to know when they were safe against the fresh attacks of the flying many; against those who would have shown them no mercy had the fortune of the day been the reverse and against them. Fear is cruel, and so is hate. Yet the Enniskilleners took four hundred prisoners, including Macarthy himself, although wounded. In despair he had advanced upon them at the last, courting death, and firing his pistol at them when otherwise, as he was told, he might easily have escaped. The Enniskilleners lost only twenty men killed and fifty wounded.

The battle of Newtown Butler was won on the same afternoon on which the boom thrown over the Foyle was broken. At Strabane the news met the army of James which was retreating from Londonderry. All was then terror and confusion; the tents were struck; the military stores were flung by waggon-loads into the waters of the Mourne; and the dismayed Jacobites, leaving many sick and wounded to the tender mercy of the victorious Williamites, fled to Omagh, and thence to Charlemont. Sarsfield, who commanded at Sligo, found it necessary to abandon that town, which was instantly occupied by Kirke's troops.

Recovering from his illness, Gustavus Hamilton, with his renowned Enniskilleners, joined the army under Duke Schomberg, which soon after landed in Ireland; and constituting themselves his advance guard, distinguished themselves by feats of valour. On the twenty-seventh of September a body of them, under Colonel Loyd, having routed a force of five thousand men under Colonel O'Kelly, with seven hundred men and three commanders slain, their own force not exceeding a thousand men, the Duke was so pleased as to cause the whole body to be drawn out in line, and rode along it uncovered to express his thanks. In the month of December a party of them under Colonel Wolsley had no sooner surprised the garrison at Belturbet than they learned preparations were making at Cavan to recover the place. According to their uniform custom they resolved to anticipate the attack. Before they could reach Cavan the Duke of Berwick had arrived there with a powerful reinforcement; and the forces were four thousand against one thousand. They met near Cavan. The onset of the Enniskilleners carried all before it. Pursuing into the town the conquerors dispersing began to plunder. The enemy concentrated in the fort, and began the fight anew. The Enniskilleners would have certainly been cut to pieces, but Wolsley conceived the idea of setting the town on fire. Thus forced out he was able to lead them again against the rallied enemy, and again to defeat them with great loss. Three hundred slain, two hundred prisoners, several officers of rank inclusive, and a large booty of cattle were the result of this foray.

In the battle of the Boyne Hamilton commanded a regiment, and there signalized himself by his usual valour and conduct, having had a horse killed under him on the thirtieth of June in the following year, and a very narrow escape from death.* At the capture of Athlone he waded the Shannon at the head of his regiment, being the first man to plant his foot in the rapid stream, and on gaining possession distinguished himself by resisting the efforts of the French army encamped close by to recover it. On account of its great importance the government of this place was committed into his hands. He was present and took a prominent part in all the principal battles fought by De Ginckle.

On the reduction of the country he was made one of the privy council, promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and received grants of forfeited lands. In the reign of Anne, he was further raised to the rank of major-general, and represented the county of Donegal in parliament, until created viscount Boyne. At the siege of Vigo he commanded a regiment, and made himself so useful upon the occasion, that he was presented with a service of plate by the queen.

In 1714, George I. advanced him to the dignity of baron Hamilton of Stackallier. The same king granted him a military pension of £182 10s. yearly, and promoted him to the title of viscount Boyne, by patent dated 1717.

He married a daughter of Sir Henry Brooke, and had by her a daughter and three sons. He died September, 1723, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

PATRICK SARSFIELD.

KILLED A. D. 1693.

THE ancestors of this gallant officer on the paternal side, though originally English, were among those early colonists who were proverbially said to have become more Irish than Irishmen. In the sixteenth century, by one of the numerous revolutions of that country, the property of the manor of Lucan came into the possession of the Sarsfields. In 1566 Sir William Sarsfield was distinguished for his good services against Shane O'Neile; for which he was knighted by Sidney. His mother was of noble native blood; and he was firmly attached to the old religion. He had inherited an estate of about £2,000 a-year, and was therefore one of the wealthiest Roman Catholics of the kingdom. His knowledge of courts and camps was such as few of his countrymen possessed. He had long borne a commission in the Life Guards, and had lived much about Whitehall. He had fought bravely under Monmouth on the continent, and against Monmouth at Sedgemoor. "According to Avaux," the representative of Louis at the court of James at Dublin, who made it his study to observe and to report to his master upon the qualities of the public men of that court, "Patrick Sarsfield," says Lord Macaulay, "had" when, in the commence-

* Preamble of his patent.

ment of 1689, elected one of the members of the city of Dublin in the parliament of James, "more personal influence than any man in Ireland. He describes him as indeed a gentleman of eminent merit, brave, upright, honourable, careful of his men in quarters, and certain to be always found at their head in the day of battle. His intrepidity, his frankness, his boundless good nature, his stature, which far exceeded that of ordinary men, and the strength which he exerted in personal conflict, gained for him the affectionate admiration of the populace. It is remarkable that the English of all ranks and opinions generally respected him as a valiant, skilful, and generous enemy, and that even in the most ribald farces which were performed by mountebanks in Smithfield, he was always excepted from the disgraceful imputations which it was then the fashion to throw upon the Jacobite party in Ireland."

But not only were men like Sarsfield rare in that house of commons; of which it has been truly said, "that of all the parliaments which have met in the British islands, Barebones' parliament not excepted, it was the most deficient in all the qualities which a legislature should possess;" he took not, he could not take, any share in the infamous proceedings that have made its name odious in every Christian and legal ear. The traitorous manœuvre by which the garrison of Sligo was withdrawn in the month of April left that port and town defenceless, when it was immediately seized upon by a detachment under Sarsfield, who was sent, in anticipation of the withdrawal, as the result of the intelligence between Lundy of Londonderry and Tyrconnel of Dublin. Sarsfield remained in charge, ever watchful of these daring irregulars, until he was instructed to concentrate an expedition against the armed colonists of Enniskillen; an expedition which was surprised and dispersed on the stream of the Drouse before its preparations were completed. On the loss of the battle of Newtown-Butler, fought by Macarthy against the Enniskilleners, he retired from Sligo before a force sent by Kirke from Londonderry. So little did James appreciate the merits of the best officer in his army, that it was not without great difficulty that the French ambassador Avaux and commander Rosen prevailed on his Majesty to give Sarsfield the command of an expedition despatched in the autumn of that year into Connaught, and to raise him to the rank of brigadier on the occasion. "He is a brave fellow," said James, with an air of intellectual superiority that must have made his auditors stare, "but he is very scantily supplied with brains." Sarsfield, however, fully vindicated the opinion of his French admirers. He dislodged the English from Sligo; and he effectually secured Galway, which had been in considerable danger.

It was one of the misfortunes of James to have repeated changes in the generals sent him from France to take the command-in-chief of his troops in Ireland. Lauzen, who succeeded the patron of Sarsfield, although he brought with him seven to eight thousand French infantry, the best perhaps the Continent could supply, was an unfortunate exchange for Rosen. At the battle of the Boyne, in apprehension that the left wing of the Jacobite army would be turned, and a pass, in the rear of the fight, called Duleek, be seized by the troops of William, which had forced a passage over the bridge of Slane, Lauzen not only

detached all his own men, but the horse of Sarsfield and Sarsfield himself, to cover that only possible line of retreat, leaving the native forces to meet the strength of the English, Enniskilleners, and Dutch, in the centre and right, without an officer capable of handling them. Thus prevented from displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed him to possess, Sarsfield could, on this fatal day for his master, only protect James in his flight with his horse, while the French infantry with considerable coolness covered the retreat of the beaten and disorderly Irish horse and foot.

The conduct of the native soldiery, in the series of fights which terminated in this crowning victory of the Williamites, had sunk their military reputation to the lowest point, and had exposed them to the bitter contempt both of their enemies and of their allies. The Jacobites at Paris, English and Scotch, never spoke of them but as dastards and traitors. The French were so exasperated at the reports that reached them of their behaviour, that Irish merchants, who had been many years settled at Paris, durst not walk the streets for fear of being insulted by the populace. So strong was the prejudice, that stories were current to explain the intrepidity with which the horse had fought as contrasted with the pusillanimity of the foot soldiers. It was said that the troopers were not men of the aboriginal races, but descendants of the old English of the Strongbow conquest, or the Scots of the Ulster settlement. And notwithstanding Lord Macaulay's faint contradiction, this was unquestionably true of their officers, and largely of the men also. The forlorn hope, who were cut off to a man after leaping their horses over the wall into the Windmill-hill outwork of Londonderry, were Butler's, under the command of a Butler of Ormonde of the line of Mountgarret. The cavalry which made the gallant attempt to retrieve the day at the Boyne, and which had so nearly succeeded, were chiefly of the Kilkenny Normans, and were led by a Hamilton, of Scottish ancestry. Sarsfield himself, the first swordsman of their force, was of the hated Saxon race. The correspondence of Avaux, of Rosen, of Lauzen, and of St. Ruth, the representatives, at different times during this period, of France in Ireland, abounds with complaints of the conduct of the Irish force. The language of James himself, in the unseemly speech he addressed to the Lord Mayor of Dublin on the morning after his flight from the field, teemed with reproaches of the cowardice of that official's countrymen. But in truth the Irish foot had become a curse and a scandal to Ireland through lack of military administration alone. A few months of strict discipline and regular drilling have frequently turned rude but athletic and enthusiastic peasants into good soldiers. But the Irish foot soldiers had not merely not been well-trained; they had been elaborately ill-trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which had fought its way under his command from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few weeks, unfit for all military purposes. But, from the day on which they were enlisted, the foot soldiers of James were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding. Accordingly, after eighteen months of nominal soldiery, they were

positively further from being soldiers than on the day they had joined the ranks. As to the question of race, the more the early history of the country is examined into, the more evident it is that the population of Ireland is mixed in a much larger measure than is generally supposed of the same elements as those of England and Scotland, although perhaps not in the same proportions. Although yielding in course of ages to the influence of the language of the country which was that of the ministers of their religion, it is manifest that Scot and Piet, Dane and Norman and Saxon, all warlike races, all having migrated originally from the north of Europe, obtained at different epochs permanent or temporary rule over more or less of the soil of the island, and gradually blended with and impressed their character on the few survivors of the earlier populations. How little ground indeed there was for the imputation of natural poltroonery has since been signally proved by many heroic achievements in every part of the globe.

With the sentiments we have referred to, however, on the part of the French officers and men, as to the military character of the Irish infantry, it is not to be wondered at, that, when the fugitives from the Boyne had taken refuge, discomfited, indeed, and disgraced, but very little diminished in numbers, in the city of Limerick, to which they were speedily followed by William, and the fortifications of which were indeed scarce worthy of the name, the allies should have laughed at the idea of defending them, and should refuse to throw away their lives in hopeless resistance to the advancing army. But, undisciplined and disorganised at it was, there was much spirit, though little firmness, in the Irish infantry. And when they rallied at Limerick, their blood was up. Patriotism, fanaticism, shame, revenge, despair, had raised them above themselves. With one voice officers and men insisted that the city should be defended to the last. At the head of those who were for resisting was the brave Sarsfield; and his exhortations diffused through all ranks a spirit resembling his own. All honour to the man who refused to despair of the courage of his countrymen, or of the cause of his country and his king. A compromise was made. The French troops, with Tyrconnel who shared their sentiments, retired to Galway. The great body of the native army, about twenty thousand strong, remained in Limerick. A French captain,—Boisseleau, who understood the character of the Irish better, and therefore judged them more favourably than the rest of his countrymen, still held the chief command. When it became known in the English camp that the French troops had quitted Limerick, and that the Irish only remained, it was expected that the city would be an easy conquest; nor was that expectation unreasonable, for even Sarsfield desponded. One chance, in his opinion, there still was. William had brought with him none but small guns. Several large pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of provisions and ammunition, and a bridge of tin boats, which in the then watery plain of the Shannon was frequently needed, were slowly following from Cashel. If guns and gunpowder could be intercepted and destroyed, there might be some hope. If not, all was lost; and the best thing that a brave and high-spirited Irish gentleman could do

was to forget the country which he had in vain tried to defend; and to seek in some foreign land a home and a grave.

A few hours, therefore, after the English tents had been pitched before Limerick, Sarsfield set forth, under cover of the night, with a strong body of horse and dragoons. He took the road to Killaloe, and crossed the Shannon there. During the day he lurked with his band in a wild mountain tract named from the silver mines which it contains. In this desolate region Sarsfield found no lack of scouts or of guides. He learned in the evening that the detachment which guarded the English artillery had halted for the night about seven miles from William's camp, under the walls of an old castle, in apparent security. When it was dark, the horsemen quitted their hiding place, and followed their guides to the spot. The surprise was complete. About sixty fell. One was taken prisoner. The rest fled. A huge pile was made of waggons and pieces of cannon. Every gun was stuffed with powder; and the whole mass was blown up. 'If I had failed in this attempt,' said the gallant Sarsfield to his solitary prisoner, a lieutenant, 'I should have been off to France.'

Sarsfield had long been the favourite of his countrymen; and this most seasonable exploit, judiciously planned and vigorously executed, raised him still higher in their estimation. Their spirits rose; and the besiegers began to lose heart. William did his best to repair his loss. Two of the guns which had been blown up were found to be still serviceable. Two more were sent for from Waterford. Batteries were constructed of small field pieces. Some outworks were carried. A small breach was made in the rampart. But ere this could be done, the rains began to fall. The swampy ground began to engender fever. A great effort must be made to carry the place at once. If that effort failed the siege must be raised.

It failed. On the twenty-seventh of August the city was entered by five hundred English grenadiers. The Irish fled before the assailants, who in the excitement of victory had not waited for orders. But then a terrible street fight began. The defenders, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, stood resolutely to their arms; and the English grenadiers, overwhelmed by numbers, were, with great loss, driven back to the counterscarp. The struggle was long and desperate. The very women took part in it, and flung stones and broken bottles at the assailants. When the conflict was the fiercest a mine exploded, and hurled a German battalion into the air. Slowly and sullenly the besiegers, late in the evening, returned to the camp. Gladly would they have renewed the attack on the morrow. The soldiers vowed to have the town or die. But the powder was now nearly exhausted; the rain fell in torrents; the roads, deep in mud, were approaching a state when retreat would be impossible; the deadly pestilence was hovering over them. Sarsfield's blow had told. William hastened to remove his troops to a healthier region. It was with no pleasurable emotions that Lauzun and Tyrconnel learned at Galway the fortunate issue of the conflict in which they had refused to take a part. They were weary of Ireland; they were apprehensive that their conduct would be unfavourably represented in France; they

therefore determined to be beforehand with their accusers, and took ship together for the continent.

Tyrconnel, before he departed, delegated his civil authority to one council and his military to another. The young Duke of Berwick was declared commander-in-chief; but this dignity was merely nominal. Sarsfield, undoubtedly the first of Irish soldiers, was placed last on the list of the councillors to whom the conduct of the war was entrusted; and some believed that he would not have been in the list at all, had not the viceroy feared that the omission of so popular a name might produce a mutiny.

From October 1690 till May 1691 no military operation on a large scale was attempted in Ireland. The part of that kingdom which still acknowledged James as king, could scarcely be said to have any government. The only towns of any note were Limerick and Galway, where the shopkeepers underwent such oppression as to steal away, when an opportunity presented itself, with their stuffs to the territory occupied by the troops of William. Merchant ships were boarded on arrival at these ports, and their cargoes taken by force to be paid for in the debased coinage of iron, or in native commodities at arbitrary prices. Neither the council of regency nor the council of war were popular. The Irish complained that men who were not Irish were entrusted with a large share in the administration. The discontent soon broke forth into open rebellion. A great meeting was held of officers, peers, lawyers, and prelates. It was resolved that the government set up by the lord-lieutenant was unknown to the constitution; that he had no power to delegate his authority, when himself absent, to a junto composed of his creatures. The Duke of Berwick was told he had assumed a power to which he had no right; and would only be obeyed if he would consent to govern by the advice of a council wholly Irish. This young nobleman yielded, but with reluctance, and continued to be a puppet in a new set of hands; but finding he had no real authority, altogether neglected business, and gave himself up to such kind of pleasure as so dreary a place afforded. There being among the Irish chiefs none of weight and authority enough to control the rest, Sarsfield for a time took the lead. But Sarsfield, though eminently brave and active in the field, was little skilled in the administration of war, and still less skilled in civil business. His nature was too unsuspicious and indulgent for a post in which it was hardly possible to be too distrustful or too severe. He believed whatever was told him; he signed whatever was set before him. The commissaries, encouraged by his lenity, robbed and embezzled shamelessly on every side, nominally for the public service, but really for themselves, every thing on which they could lay their hands, even on the property of the priests and prelates.

Early in the spring of 1691, the anarchy of this state of things came to an end by the return of Tyrconnel to Ireland, and of the Duke of Berwick to France. Tyrconnel brought gold and clothing for the army; and announced the early arrival of provisions and military stores. The patent of the earldom of Lucan was also sent from James by him, in recompense of the services of the gallant Sarsfield. But the command-in-chief of his army in Ireland was again bestowed on a French officer

named St. Ruth. The second in command was also a Frenchman, named D'Usson. A numerous staff of officers to drill and discipline the Irish soldiers was on board a fleet, which brought a plentiful supply of corn and flour; and which arrived shortly afterwards.

St. Ruth had seen service. The Irish regiments in the French service had formed part of the army under his command in Savoy, and had behaved extremely well. He was famous as the most merciless persecutor of the protestants of his own country. Disappointed at the condition of the forces he was sent to command, he nevertheless set himself to the task of disciplining them with rigorous activity. A few days after the arrival of St. Ruth, he was informed the army of William was ready to move. On the seventh of June, Ballymore was surrendered to it. On the nineteenth, under the command of De Ginckle, a most distinguished general raised in the Dutch service, it sat down before Athlone, the most important military position in the island, and next day the half of the town on the south bank of the Shannon fell into its hands. There was discord in the Irish councils. Tyrconnel, to the disgust of the natives, was in the town, and exercising his authority over the French commander, so as to excite the indignation of a powerful party in the army. On the other hand, he sent his emissaries to all the camp fires to make a party among the common soldiers against the French general.

The only thing in which Tyrconnel and Saint Ruth agreed was in dreading and disliking Sarsfield. "Not only," says Lord Macaulay, "was he popular with the great body of his countrymen; he was also surrounded by a knot of retainers whose devotion to him resembled the devotion of the Ishmaelite murderers to the Old Man of the Mountain. It was known that one of these fanatics, a colonel, had used language which, in the mouth of an officer so high in rank, might well cause uneasiness. 'The king,' this man had said, 'is nothing to me. I obey Sarsfield. Let Sarsfield tell me to kill any man in the whole army; and I will do it.' Sarsfield was indeed too honourable a man to abuse his immense power over the minds of his worshippers. But the viceroy and the commander-in-chief might not unnaturally be disturbed by the thought that Sarsfield's honour was their only guarantee against mutiny and assassination. The consequence was, that at the crisis of the fate of James' cause in Ireland, the services of the first of Irish soldiers were not used, or were used with jealous caution; and that if he ventured a suggestion, it was received with a sneer or a frown."

While these disputes were going on in the Jacobite camp, and on the evening of thirtieth June, when Saint Ruth was in his tent writing to his master complaints against Tyrconnel, when the second in command was enjoying himself at table, when part of the garrison was idling, part dozing, fifteen hundred English grenadiers, each wearing in his hat a green bough, entered suddenly the deep and strong stream, and in a few minutes were on the firm land on the Connaught side of the Shannon. "Taken!" said Saint Ruth in dismay, "It cannot be. A town taken, and I close by with an army to relieve it!" Cruelly mortified, he struck his tent under cover of the night, and retreated in the direction of Galway. A scarcity of forage, the near presence of an hostile

army superior in numbers, the approach of the autumnal rains, and the danger of the pestilence which usually accompanies them, had led the English general to call a council of war that very morning, and to propose that the besiegers should either at once force their way across the river or retreat. To effect a passage over the shattered remains of the bridge seemed impossible. It was resolved to do it by the deep ford, and to do it that afternoon at six o'clock on a signal from the steeple of the church;—the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, the Duke of Wurtemberg, Tolmash, and other gallant officers, to whom no part in the enterprise had been assigned, insisting on leading the brave grenadiers as private volunteers.

Great were the criminations and recriminations in the Catholic camp after so great a disaster. It did not matter how keen a Jacobite any follower of James might be, how high his rank or character, how great the sacrifices he had made to loyalty, if he were not also an adherent of the church of Rome, the Irish Jacobites would have none of him. Even if a Catholic and not also a soldier, if he were not of Irish birth, his presence would not be tolerated amongst them. If both Jacobite and Romanist, and soldier to boot, if he disapproved of the repeal of the Act of Settlement, or of the Act of Attainder, he must not be one of them. Among those who had adhered with unswerving fidelity to James was a Scottish officer named Thomas Maxwell. Although a Romanist, he was not a bigot, and he had not concealed his dislike of the transactions of the Parliament of 1689. His nomination as one of the Council of War by Tyrconnel, had mainly led to the rebellion already noted of the previous autumn by which he was turned out and escaped to France. It was even recommended by one of the intriguers who sailed in the same ship that he should be thrown into the sea. He returned with Tyrconnel, and was entrusted, contrary to the wish of a powerful party, by Saint Ruth, with the charge of the works on that part of the Connaught shore where the ford lay. He was taken prisoner when his forces had fled to a man. Nevertheless the enemies of the lord-lieutenant charged his obstinacy with the fatal result by having over-ruled Saint Ruth in the matter of this Scotchman. The friends of Tyrconnel blamed the French general on the other hand for refusing to take precautions suggested by Maxwell and Tyrconnel, which would have made a surprise impossible. Tyrconnel, however, had to give way and retire to Limerick; and Saint Ruth remained in undisputed possession of the supreme command.

Still harmony was not restored. Saint Ruth was bent on trying the chances of a battle. Most of the Irish officers, with Sarsfield at their head, were of a different mind. They advised that the greater part of the infantry should be employed in garrisoning the walls of Limerick and of Galway; and that the horse, with the remainder of the foot soldiers, should get into the rear of the enemy and cut off his supplies. If he should sit down before Galway, that they should then make a push for Dublin, which was altogether defenceless. It seems most likely that if his judgment had not been biassed by his passions, Saint Ruth would have adopted this course. But he was smarting from the pain of a humiliating defeat for which he was not entirely blameless. His enemies would make the most of this to his prejudice with his master.

To avoid the displeasure of Louis something must be done, and that was to fight and to conquer, or to perish. The spot chosen by Saint Ruth for this great trial showed great judgment. His army was drawn up on the slope of a hill, which was almost surrounded with red bog. In front, near the edge of the morass, were fences out of which a breast-work was constructed. The old castle of Aghrim stood in the rear. In the few days of preparation the French commander evinced every quality of a great officer. He sought by familiarity and kindness to win the affections of the soldiery he had formerly despised. He used religious stimulants of the most powerful kind to brace their resolve to fight like martyrs and heroes. It is admitted on every side that he succeeded, and that the Irish forces were never known to fight with more resolution than at the battle which bears the name of this old castle. On the twelfth of July, however, after being ten hours under arms, six of them marching in a deep fog, the English army attacked through the swamp; were again and again driven back; and again and again returned to the struggle. The night was closing in, and still the advantage was on the side of the Irish. "The day is ours," said Saint Ruth, and he waved his hat in the air, "We will drive them before us to the gates of Dublin." But fortune was already on the turn. At a place where two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast, the English and French Protestant cavalry under Mackay and Ruvigny at last succeeded in passing the bog. On seeing this Saint Ruth was hastening to the rescue, when a cannon ball took off his head. It was thought it would be dangerous to let this event become known. Till the fight was over neither army was aware he was no more. In the crisis of the battle there was none to give directions. Sarsfield was in command of the reserve, but he had been strictly enjoined by Saint Ruth not to stir without orders, and no orders came. But for the coming on of a moonless night, made darker by a misty rain, scarcely a man would have escaped; for the conquerors were in a savage mood. A report had spread that English prisoners taken in the early part of the fight, and who had been admitted to quarter, were afterwards butchered. But the obscurity enabled Sarsfield, with a few squadrons which remained unbroken, to cover the retreat. The number of the Irish that fell was not less than seven thousand, of whom four thousand were counted on the field of battle.

The death of Saint Ruth restored the supreme authority to Tyrconnel, who made preparations for repairing the fortifications of Limerick, and for storing supplies against a siege; for which the means of defence—had not the fall of Athlone and the slaughter of Aghrim broken the spirit of the army—were by no means contemptible. Excepting Sarsfield, and a brave Scotch officer named Wauchop, the chiefs of the Irish force loudly declared that it was time to think of capitulating. Tyrconnel, although persuaded that all was lost, hoped the struggle might be prolonged until permission to treat should arrive from James at Saint Germain; and prevailed on his desponding countrymen to swear not to capitulate until that permission should arrive. A few days thereafter Tyrconnel himself was struck with apoplexy, under which he succumbed in three days. A commission from James, under the great seal of Ireland, when opened after this event, nearly led to

another rebellion, because of the three Lords Justices therein named to govern Ireland, in such a case as the death of the Viceroy, two were born in England. Fortunately the commission was accompanied by instructions which forbade these Lords Justices to interfere with the conduct of the war; and consequently it was practically a nullity, as war was now the only business to be attended to within that city. The government was therefore really in the hands of Sarsfield. Two thousand three hundred men, the garrison of Galway, which yielded by capitulation on this condition, were shortly afterwards added to its garrison under the French officer D'Usson. On the day Tyrconnel died, August fourteenth, the advanced guard of William's army came within sight of Limerick. Shortly afterwards several English vessels of war came up the Shannon and anchored about a mile below the city. The batteries, on which were planted guns and bombs very different from those which William had been forced to use on the preceding autumn, played day and night, and soon roofs were blazing and walls were crashing in every corner of the city, and whole streets were reduced to ashes.

Still the place held out; the garrison was, in numerical strength, little inferior to the besieging army; and it seemed not impossible that the defence might be prolonged till the equinoctial rains should a second time compel the English to retire. Ginckle determined on striking a bold stroke. No point in the whole circle of the fortifications was more important, and no point seemed to be more secure than the Thomond bridge, which joined the city to the camp of the Irish horse on the Clare bank of the Shannon. The Dutch general's plan was to separate the infantry within the ramparts from the cavalry without, and this plan he executed with great skill, vigour, and success. He laid a bridge of ten boats on the river, crossed it with a strong body of troops, drove before him in confusion fifteen hundred dragoons who made a faint show of resistance, and marching towards the quarters of the Irish horse, took possession of their camp almost without a blow being struck, along with great store of provisions, and the arms which were flung away by the flying foemen, whose beasts fortunately were grazing at a short distance, and nearly all escaped capture.

But this was not all. Returning in a few days at the head of a few regiments to the Clare bank of the Shannon, he attacked and carried the forts which protected the Thomond bridge, thus completely isolating the city on all sides. Unfortunately a French officer in command at the city gate opening on this bridge, afraid that the pursuers would enter the city with the fugitives from the storming of the forts, caused the drawbridge portion which was nearest to the city to be drawn up by which many lives were sacrificed. Many went headlong into the stream and perished there. Others cried for quarter, and held up their handkerchiefs in token of submission. But the conquerors were mad with rage; their cruelty could not be immediately restrained, and no prisoners were made till the heaps of corpses rose above the parapets. Of eight hundred men, which constituted the garrison, only about a hundred and twenty escaped into Limerick. This disaster seemed likely to produce a mutiny in the besieged city. Had the French officer not been mortally wounded, he would have been sacrificed to the

fury of the multitude, for having ordered the drawbridge to be drawn up. The French commander wrote to his master, that after this fight the spirit of the garrison was so broken that it was impossible to continue the struggle. Up to this time the voice of Sarsfield had been for stubborn resistance. But even Sarsfield lost heart now, and was not only willing but impatient to treat. The details and progress of the capitulation that followed have passed into the domain of European history; and have been commented upon in our Historical Introduction to this volume. For the favourable terms obtained, considering the circumstances and the temper of the times, some credit no doubt is due to the reputation for gallantry and firmness of the subject of this memoir, and to his opportune application; as well as to the circumstance that a formidable French fleet with soldiers, arms, and abundant stores was near, which arrived at Dingle Bay a day or two after the signing of the Treaties, viz., on the first of October 1691. But there cannot be a doubt that still more credit is due to King William himself; whose instructions, framed with a view to such an occasion, were sent for by Ginckle before drawing out his proposals, which were those substantially settled on. At a time when no protestant worship was allowed in France, nor, generally speaking, in any catholic country, and when even the episcopalian form of worship was virtually proscribed in Scotland although that of the majority of the British nation, the first article of the treaty of Limerick, granting to the Roman Catholics of Ireland the free exercise of their religion, on the sole condition of taking a simple oath of allegiance, "when thereunto required," seems exceptionally liberal. The treaty embraced all places in which resistance to the forces of William was then being made, and its conclusion put an end to the civil war in Ireland. Sarsfield was indirectly honoured in it, being recognised therein by his title of earl of Lucan, a title granted while in arms against the British nation, by an exile, and an abdicated king. His own honourable feeling was also manifested, in a clause providing for repayment to a certain Col. John Brown, of monies, which he, Sarsfield, had received for the public service of his party from this gentleman, which the owner had destined to pay protestants holding executions against him, and which Sarsfield had undertaken to satisfy in his relief. During the interval betwixt the adjustment of the articles and the arrival of the Lords Justices from Dublin to sign the treaty, a somewhat free and friendly intercourse took place between the Irish and English officers of the outposts of the two armies. Among the anecdotes widely circulated, of what passed at these meetings, one in particular "was reported," says Lord Macaulay, "in every part of Europe," and shows not only the estimate on the part of Sarsfield, of the parties referred to, but even more especially his jealousy for the reputation of his countrymen. "Has not this last campaign," said Sarsfield to some English officers, "raised your opinion of Irish soldiers?" "To tell you the truth," answered an Englishman, "we think of them much as we always did." "However meanly you may think of us," replied Sarsfield, "change kings with us, and we will willingly try our luck with you again." "Sarsfield was doubtless thinking," adds his lordship, "of the day on which he had seen the two sovereigns at the head of

two great armies,"—viz., at the battle of the Boyne—"William foremost in the charge, and James foremost in the flight." "However meanly you may think of us," has been, and still is, the proud and painful feeling of cultivated Irishmen when their country and countrymen are sneered at for an assumed inferiority which in their heart of hearts they know does not hold true. By the military treaty it was agreed that such Irish officers and soldiers as should declare that they wished to go to France should be conveyed thither; and should, in the mean time, remain under the command of their own generals. The English general undertook to furnish a considerable number of transports. French vessels were also permitted to pass and repass freely between Brittany and Munster. Some of the provisions of the civil treaty were in lenity beyond what any constitutional authority could venture to assure without the express consent of the legislature. Not only was an entire amnesty promised to all comprised within its provisions; not only were they allowed to retain their property, and to exercise any profession which they had exercised before the troubles; not only were they not to be punished for any treason, felony, and misdemeanour committed since the accession of James; but they were not even to be sued for damages on account of any act of spoliation or outrage which they might have committed during the three years of confusion. It was therefore properly added, that the confirmation of these stipulations should depend on the parliamentary ratification of the treaty; which the government undertook to use its utmost efforts to obtain.

Sarsfield having resolved to seek his fortune in the service of France, was naturally desirous to carry with him to the continent such a body of troops as would be an important addition to the army of Louis. On the other hand, the commander of William's forces was as naturally unwilling to see thousands of men sent to swell the forces of the enemy of his master. Mutual altercation, and an appeal to the Irish forces took place; but the clergy, being on the side of the Jacobite general, proved more than powerful on the day when a decision came to be taken. Whether the sermons preached by the Roman Catholic priests on that morning at the head of every regiment,—in which the sin of consorting with unbelievers and the peril to the soul of enlisting in the heretic army were indefatigably pressed—were, as English historians assert, immediately, and before the pronouncing of the benediction by the bishop, followed by a plentiful allowance of brandy or not, we cannot say, but the result was, that when the long procession had closed, out of fourteen thousand infantry under arms, only three thousand had filed off to indicate their wish to abide in Ireland, and eleven thousand returned with Sarsfield to the city. The proportions in the horsemen, who were encamped some miles from the town, were nearly the same.

It is remarked here by Lord Macaulay, that the regiments consisting of natives of Ulster filed off—that is, decided to enter the British army—to a man; and that there existed between the Scots of Ulster of ante-Christian settlement—whom Lord Macaulay in mistake calls Celts—and the native Irish of the other three provinces an antipathy which was the inducing cause of this decision. His Lordship gives other instances

of this antipathy which will afterwards be referred to, an antipathy which overruled the community of religion and language, and which showed how, in critical epochs, the influence of race will overrule the accidents of time and beliefs. In the course of the embarkation, there occurred various embarrassments to Sarsfield and his officers. Lest that large portion of his men who had selected to accompany him to France, should change their minds, after the effects of the ecclesiastical and material stimulants, to which reference has been made, had passed away, he had them confined within the ramparts of that quarter of the city of Limerick which by agreement still remained in the possession of the Irish generals, and ordered the gates to be shut and strongly guarded. And if the entire of the army had remained in Limerick till the day of embarkation it would have been transported almost to a man, carrying with it such of the families of the officers and soldiers as happened to be present on the occasion. But many of the vessels in which the voyage was to be performed lay at Cork, and in proceeding thither many soldiers unable to bear the thought of separation, perhaps for life, from all that was familiar and all that was dear, stole away into the bogs. The Royal regiment, which had, on the day of the review, set a striking example of fidelity to the cause of James, dwindled from fourteen hundred down to five hundred men. In order to meet the natural unwillingness of his men to leave their families in a state of destitution, which he perceived was one chief cause of this desertion—as these had crowded to meet their husbands and fathers, covering all the roads to the place of embarkation—Sarsfield by a proclamation confirmed the article of the treaty, assuring his soldiers that they would be permitted to carry their wives and families to France. It is probable he had formed an erroneous estimate of the number who would demand a passage from Cork, and that he found himself, when it was too late to alter his arrangements, unable to keep his word. It is true that, after the soldiers had embarked, room was found for the families of many. But, at the last, there remained a great multitude clamorous to be taken on board, for whom no room could be found; and, as the ships began to move, a wail arose from the shore which excited compassion in hearts not otherwise inclined to sympathise with the disappointed emigrants, of women who clung to the gunwale of the last of the boats. Some of them, it is said, were even dragged into the sea as they clung, and had their hands cut off and perished in the waves.

The perseverance and folly of James after his return to France succeeded in persuading a new minister of Louis to organise a formidable descent upon England early in the spring of 1692. The camp which was formed on the coast of Normandy contained all the Irish regiments which were in the service of France, and they were placed under the command of their countryman, Sarsfield. With them were to be joined about ten thousand French troops. But after waiting some months, and being joined by James himself and several of his confidants, when the formidable French fleet which was to convey them had nearly reached their encampment, it encountered the English and Dutch squadrons, and was totally defeated at La Hogue. The expedition in consequence was entirely broken up. Sarsfield we meet with as engaged

in the terrible fight of Landen, fought on the nineteenth of July, 1693, betwixt the armies of France and of the allies, whence he was borne stretched on a pallet, desperately wounded, from which he never rose again. Some time after his departure from Ireland, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Clanricarde, by whom he left a son, who died unmarried in Flanders. His widow remarried with the duke of Berwick. He was of stately height, overtopping all his companions by a head.

His elder brother was married to a natural daughter of James II., and left a daughter his sole heiress, through whom the Sarsfield property in Lucan has descended to the Vesey family.

With this memoir the distinctive and more important political biographies of the transition period properly terminate; but there are still a few names that merit notice in a work of the character of the present one, from the connection of those who bore them with the historical transactions of the period; although, from lack of fitting materials, our notices must needs be slight. Indeed, the authentic personal traditions of the time are but scanty, and it is only as they pass before us in the field or siege, that many persons, eminent in their day, can be seen.

COLONEL RICHARD GRACE, killed A. D. 1691, was descended of a race we had occasion to notice in our memoir of Raymond Le Gros.* He was a younger son of Robert Grace, baron of Courtstown in the county of Kilkenny. He had been a distinguished soldier in the great rebellion, in which, both in England and Ireland, he had fought with honour for the kings of the Stuart race. During the commonwealth he served with distinction in Spain; and, after the Restoration, was chamberlain to the Duke of York. When he left that service of the household to proceed to Ireland, to serve there in a military capacity, it may be inferred he was far advanced in life. The amount of confidence reposed in him, however, may be inferred from the fact, of his being entrusted with the government of Athlone, the most important strategic post, according to military authorities of that day, in central Ireland. Eight days after the battle of the Boyne, King William despatched a force consisting of ten regiments of foot and five of horse, under James Douglas, a Scotch officer, who had distinguished himself in fight, to reduce Athlone. The garrison was composed of three regiments of foot, with nine troops of dragoons and two of light cavalry. There was, however, a larger body encamped at a small distance. Notwithstanding the proclamation issued by William, and the stern example made by him of hanging a soldier, who, after the victory of Boyne, had slain three defenceless natives asking for quarter, the troops of Douglas, intoxicated by their successes, and not held enough in discipline by their commander, were guilty of gross outrages on the peasantry of the district who, on the march, had, on the faith of the royal proclamation, flocked round the tent of their commander, and had re-

* Vol. i. p. 213.

ceived from him promises of such protection as he could afford. The robbery and murder thus committed excited the hate and execration of the district, and more than neutralized the feeling of despondency, produced on the minds of their countrymen by the results of that fight. It was perhaps owing to this circumstance, that the summons of Douglas to surrender Athlone was received by Colonel Grace with a species of defiance not quite reconcilable to the usage of civilized war. "These are my terms," replied the aged veteran, firing his pistol at the messenger.

The siege was protracted until sickness, more than the enemy, had carried off four hundred men, without the assailants having made any sensible impression on the defences; when, forage having failed for the horse, and Sarsfield, after the retreat of William's army from Limerick, finding himself free, had approached with fifteen thousand men to raise it, a speedy retreat became necessary. For this result we may claim due honour to Colonel Grace, whose firmness, and the skilfulness of his dispositions, maintained the town for another year to the Jacobite cause. Of him we have it not in our power to record further than that he remained at his post of command until the commencement of the second siege of Athlone, on 19th June, 1691. On the second day of the siege he was slain, in defending a breach in a bastion he had caused to be erected during the winter, with a view of defending that portion of the town called "the English side," which had been abandoned on the former attack. He was buried in the town he so ably defended.

TEAGUE O'REGAN, a general of native descent,—the O'Regans were a sept of Leinster, (see notice of Maurice O'Regan the historian, and ambassador of Macmurragh to Earl Strongbow, in our previous volume)—had distinguished himself on the continent, and was so esteemed by the viceroy of James, as to be entrusted with the defence of the fort of Charlemont, which our readers will recollect was a place of early importance, built by Lord Mountjoy, in the wars of Tyrone, and commanding the entrance into that part of Ulster. Under its shelter there had grown up a town of great importance at the time before us. Strong by nature, it had been made nearly impregnable by art. A strong garrison held it. Two French regiments were sent by Marshal Schomberg to reduce it in the autumn of 1689; but they could only invest it, and convert the siege into a blockade, for which its position afforded great facilities. Accordingly, when supplies were sent from Dublin under an escort of several hundred men, Schomberg gave instructions to allow the whole party to enter after a show of resistance, but to take care that none were permitted to return. The supplies they brought being small, the situation of the garrison soon became worse than before. Various sallies were made with the view of the escort returning whence they came, but they were always driven back with loss. So obstinately was the place held, that when at last honourable terms of surrender were obtained, the nearly famished garrison were observed to be eating raw hides when they marched out on 16th May 1690; and, like the Turks at Kars, were generously supplied with food by the entering com-

mander. After the surrender of Charlemont fort, O'Regan was sent by James as governor of Sligo, and to take the chief command in the immediately surrounding counties. By the Jacobite party Sligo was considered a post important for maintaining the communications betwixt Connaught and Ulster. It had changed hands several times during the war of the Revolution in Ireland. Soon after O'Regan entered on the command, an army of observation under Lieut.-colonel Ramsay approached its vicinity, and was attacked by him with great energy; but, on a strong reinforcement arriving, his soldiers fled, and he himself narrowly escaped being taken in the flight. A strong and masterly line of posts was then established against him around, under the command of Colonel Mitchelbourne, whose headquarters were at Ballyshannon, by which all relief by land was shut out, and the place became, to use the expression of Harris, "invested at a distance." By his exertions indeed the fortifications of the town were so greatly strengthened during the succeeding winter that the only mode of reducing them was by starving, as at Charlemont the year previous; and although the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress from the interruption of all supplies; and although this was perfectly well known to the besieging general, yet owing to the iron temper of O'Regan, who, it was said, "could fast as well as fight," weeks on weeks elapsed in unrelenting and vigilant league on the one side, and unrelaxed obstinacy on the other, before negotiations were opened with a view to surrender. On this occasion the craft of Sir Teague proved more than a match for the vigilant sagacity of Mitchelbourne. By deftly allowing the latter to believe him open to the offer of a bribe, to be paid indirectly to some of his relations, and which was not easily forthcoming, Sir Teague succeeded in protracting negotiations, and so to improve some misunderstanding betwixt Mitchelbourne and the investing militia regiments under his command, as to lay in a plentiful stock of provisions in corn and cattle, when the negotiations were ended by him somewhat abruptly. It was considered by the government of William in Ireland to be of the utmost importance to obtain possession of Sligo, and so to prevent the possibility of the town affording winter quarters to the Jacobites. This was the more imperatively necessary, as the arrival of relief by sea from France was daily expected by both parties, which, if allowed to be landed, would make its reduction that year next to impossible.

A force of five thousand men was therefore organized under Lord Granard. A part of this force, consisting of a regiment of dragoons under Sir Albert Coningham posted at Coloony, and intended to unite themselves next day with a large body of infantry under an Irish chieftain named Baldearg O'Chonell, were surprised during a fog at daybreak by a party of five hundred chosen men from the garrison, and dispersed with great loss of men and all their baggage, and their commander, after being received as a prisoner, was slain. Meantime Colonel Mitchelbourne had attacked the outworks and compelled the garrison to retire from the town to a strong fort, called O'Regan's fort, which commanded the town and river. This fort was of sod-work, situate north-east of the town upon a high hill guarded by bastions with platforms at either end, and the whole inclosed by a deep and

wide fosse from which the hill fell abruptly. It contained a deep draw-well which supplied the garrison with water; and large stores of food and ammunition were laid up for an anticipated siege. More important still, it commanded the only pass from the north of Connaught into Donegal. While this fort therefore remained in the possession of the Jacobites, the town, river, and pass were wholly in their power; and with the means hitherto at the command of the besiegers, to reduce it by force was impossible. Lord Granard, however, was prepared for this—having with considerable difficulty, arising from the want of horses of sufficient strength, brought from Athlone a heavy park of artillery over the Corlin mountains—when he ordered a battery to be raised and a fire to be opened upon the fort. The garrison not having the patience to wait the effects of its fire, which they would have found, as was the case with Totleben's earth forts at Sebastopol, comparatively harmless, became intimidated, and constrained their commander to beat a parley, which terminated in their surrender on terms on the 15th September. The garrison were permitted to march to Limerick with their arms and baggage, and all the little garrisons around were included in the convention.

Of Sir Teague O'Regan nothing farther is known. He was no doubt included in the capitulation of Limerick which took place some weeks afterwards, and accompanied the Irish army to France, there to engage in a series of fights, such as that of Marsiglia in Piedmont in 1693, of which Macaulay remarks, "This battle is memorable as the first of a long series of battles in which the Irish troops retrieved the honour lost by misfortunes and misconduct in domestic war. Some of the exiles of Limerick," he adds, "showed, on that day, under the standard of France, a valour which distinguished them among many thousands of brave men."

BALDEARG O'DONELL. In our memoir of Hugh Roe O'Donell,* the last chief of Tyrconnel, who lived in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it was stated that Sir Hugh O'Donell, his father, had four sons; and that of these Hugh Roe was the eldest and Rory O'Donell was the second. It was farther stated of the singularly gifted and energetic noble Hugh Roe, that after the failure of the Spanish expedition, which settled in Kinsale, he retired to Spain in January, 1600, with its commander, where he died on the 10th of September following. In the life of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone,† it was further stated of this second son, Rory O'Donell, who took an active part in the wars in which Hugh Roe was engaged, that when the latter, finding no further efforts were likely to be made by Spain in Ireland, made his submission to Elizabeth's government and was received into allegiance by James, he was joined in this act by Rory now chief of the Donells, and that on the occasion he not only received back all the lands of the family forfeited by treason, but was created by that monarch earl of Tyrconnel. It was further mentioned, that both earls soon afterwards began to suspect the government of plotting against them, and, in

* Vol. i. p. 324.

† Vol. i. p. 511.

revenge, or in self-defence, plotted against the government; that their schemes failed; that they fled to the continent; and that their titles and large estates were of new forfeited in absence. Tyrone went to Rome; Rory, late earl of Tyrconnel, took refuge at the court of Spain. The exiled chieftain was welcomed at Madrid as a good Catholic flying from heretical persecutors. His illustrious descent and princely dignity secured him the respect of the Castilian grandees. His honours were inherited by a succession of banished men who lived and died far from the land where the memory of their family was fondly cherished by a rude peasantry and was kept fresh by the songs of minstrels and the tales of begging friars. At length, in the eighty-third year of the exile of this ancient dynasty, it was known over all Europe that the Irish were again in arms for their independence. Baldearg O'Donell—who called himself the O'Donell—the lineal representative of this unfortunate Rory, had been bred in Spain and was in the service of the Spanish government. He requested the permission of that government to proceed to Ireland. But the house of Austria was then in league with England, and the permission was refused. The O'Donell made his escape; and, by a circuitous route in the course of which he visited Turkey, arrived at Kinsale shortly after the battle of the Boyne and a few days after James had sailed thence for France. The effect produced on the native population by the arrival of this solitary wanderer was marvellous. Since Ulster had been colonized afresh by the English great multitudes of the Irish inhabitants of that province had migrated southward and were now leading a vagrant life in Connaught and Munster. These men, accustomed from their infancy to hear of the good old times when the chiefs of the O'Donells governed the mountains of Donegal in defiance of the lords of the pale, flocked to the standard of the exiled stranger. He was soon at the head of seven or eight thousand partizans, or, to use the name peculiar to Ulster, *Creaghts*; a name derived from the appellation *Cruithne*, given by the early Irish annalists to the strangers who had conquered Ireland from the north where they had settled shortly after the Christian era; a name which Irish antiquarians have sought to identify with that of the Picts both in Scotland and Ireland; one which, with greater probability, we find to apply in its *first* usage to the unconverted Scots and Picts (alike) in both countries; and which continued to be applied to *both* even after their conversion to Christianity. Between these *Creaghts* and the original Irish of the southern provinces there was little sympathy, or, to speak more accurately, there was a marked aversion; arising not only from difference of race but from the accustomed resentment of the conquered against their conquerors even after so many centuries had elapsed. These followers adhered to O'Donell with a loyalty very different from the languid sentiment which the feeble James had been able to inspire. Priests and even bishops swelled the train of the adventurer. Baldearg was so much elated by his reception that he sent agents to France, who assured the ministers of Louis, that, if furnished with arms and ammunition, he would bring into the field thirty thousand *Creaghts* from Ulster; and that the *Creaghts* from Ulster would be found far superior in every military quality to the Irish natives of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

During the siege of Limerick by William, and while his army was smarting under the blow inflicted by Sarsfield in the unexpected destruction of its artillery, the besiegers were astonished and amused by the pompous entry of Baldearg into it at the head of his followers; while the hopes of its garrison were raised by his appearance to a strange pitch. Numerous prophecies were recollected or invented. An O'Donnell with a *red mark* was to be the deliverer of his country; and "Baldearg" meant a *red mark*. An O'Donnell was to gain a great battle over the English near Limerick; and at Limerick the O'Donnell and the English were brought face to face. And the bloody repulse of the attempt to carry the city by assault which shortly followed seemed to confirm this latter prophecy.

But Baldearg was not duped by the superstitious veneration of which he was the object. During the winter of 1690-1 he saw enough of the exhausted state of the country, the wretched squabbles of the Jacobite leaders, and the unsoldierly qualities of the people, especially of their feeling towards himself and his following to induce him to question, as well the hopefulness of their successful resistance to the military power of England,—of which as a soldier he was a not incompetent judge,—as the prospect of advantage either to himself or to his people from such success. His notion evidently was that the House of O'Donnell was as truly and indefeasibly royal as the House of Stewart; and not a few of his clansmen were of the same mind. He held himself therefore at perfect liberty to act with or against either party as might be most conducive to his own recognition as such. The then Lord-lieutenant of James was actually in possession of the title which might have been his. In the event of success also, he foresaw that the influence of France would absorb every thing that was valuable in Ireland. While therefore there remained any doubt about the issue of the great fight of 1691, that of Aghrim fought on the eleventh of July,—Baldearg held aloof with his followers at a short distance. On learning the defeat and death of the French general commanding the forces of James he retreated to the mountains of Mayo, whence he sent an agent to negotiate for his adhesion to the cause of William. A treaty was made; Baldearg with a portion of his devoted adherents, over whom the spell which bound them to him was not altogether broken even by this change, joined General Ginckle and rendered on several occasions, while accompanying a division of the English army, useful service to the cause of William and Mary. It is charged against him that at the commencement of this negotiation he demanded the restoration of the earldom formerly granted to his ancestor; and that failing in this, he accepted an annual pension of five hundred pounds. We see nothing greatly wrong or undignified in this. By leaving the service of Spain without permission he had lost his means of subsistence; and in bringing a considerable accession of strength to one of the contending parties it was his duty to make for himself and for his adherents the best arrangement in his power.

After the conclusion of the civil war in Ireland we find no further mention of his name. The antipathy between his Creaghts and the original or Irish race already referred to, which showed itself in the refusal of the regiments of the former blood to volunteer for France after

the fatal capitulation of Limerick, was, Lord Macaulay supposes, aided by his example and influence. It has been stated that he again returned to Spain; where we find even within the last few years a distinguished general and statesman, the first minister of the Spanish crown, bearing his ancient name.

Perhaps no more singular episode than this sudden appearance and fervent reception, after nearly a century had passed, of the descendant of their exiled chieftain had ever happened in the history of the race of Donell. Its only parallel is the tenacity of the attachment, as recorded in Anderson's "Scottish Nation," of the Scots of Morayshire to the descendants of the ancient line of Macbeth, and the enthusiastic reception given by them once and again to those who were, or were supposed to be, of his blood—even after several generations of the line of Duncan had reigned on the Scottish throne.

The ethnological distinction between the Irish speaking inhabitants of Ulster and those of the other provinces of Ireland here brought out, has scarcely received any notice whatever at the hands of the historians of Ireland. Even Lord Macaulay, who points to the fact of the antipathy between the men of different provinces, as made evident from the curious memorial which the agent of Baldearg O'Donell delivered to Avaux the ambassador of Louis in Ireland, appears to have had no conception that it had its basis in a difference of race. We recommend our readers who doubt of this, to read over the life of Hugh Roe O'Donell the great chief of the Donells.* They will find that he made war on the chieftains of Connaught and Munster with as great avidity as on the English themselves, even when these were in hostility to England; and that his allies were the Irish speaking Scotch of Arran and North Argyle. The Irish speaking Creaghts of Ulster at other times are found in the north-west of Scotland fighting under the banners of the opponents of the Scottish kings. But no such alliances between the Southern Irish and the Creaghts of Ulster are to be met with.

HENRY LUTTRELL, a colonel in the army on the occasion of the breaking out of the Revolution of 1688, a Roman Catholic, a leading adherent of James, and the second son of a family long settled in the county of Carlow, had, with his elder brother Simon, also a colonel, long served in France, whence he brought back to his native Ireland a sharpened intellect and polished manners, a flattering tongue, some skill in war, and much more skill in intrigue. By direction of Tyreconnel, in his letters accompanying the writs, the members of the house of commons of the parliament of James of 1689 were named to the returning officers for the guidance of the few Roman Catholic electors who alone dared then to vote; and in virtue of this nomination Henry Luttrell was returned as member for his native county of Carlow. With the exception of his brother Simon, Sir Richard Nagle Plowden, and, in name only, the gallant Sarsfield (who did not serve), he may be considered as almost the only one who sat in that parliament who was qualified to take a lead from his knowledge of affairs; and,

* Vol. i. p. 324.

consequently, for the unjust, unconstitutional, and cruel legislation of that parliament he was, from the influence he exercised thereupon, largely responsible. He was also keenly sensitive when unfavourable criticism was passed upon any of the measures to which he had so greatly contributed.

After the defeat at the Boyne the Luttrells accompanied the army of James in its flight to Limerick, and remained there during its first and fruitless siege by William. On the departure of the lord-lieutenant from Galway to France in September 1690 after the raising of the siege, having delegated, before leaving, his civil authority to one Council and his military authority to another, in neither of which Commissions were the names of the Luttrells to be found, these trained intriguers took no pains to conceal their dissatisfaction. Their mortification rose into bitter indignation when it became known that one Thomas Maxwell, a Scotchman of the noble family of Herries,—a family which had sacrificed and risked once and again life and fortune for loyalty and Romanism,—and who was himself a gallant and true man, was included in one of the Commissions from both of which they were shut out. Maxwell's mortal offence, in their eyes, was that he had not concealed the dislike which he felt for the rapparee parliament which had repealed the Act of Settlement, and which had passed the Act of Attainder. On this popular plea, and also the not less popular one that men who were not Irish had been entrusted with a share in the administration, the discontent soon broke out into actual rebellion. The legality of the commissions was called in question. A great meeting was held. A great many officers of the army, some peers, some lawyers, and some Roman Catholic bishops, sent a deputation to the Duke of Berwick, the commander-in-chief of the army, to inform him he had assumed a power to which he had no right, but that nevertheless they would make no change if he would only consent to govern by the advice of a council which should be wholly Irish; and to these terms this young prince, son of the king whom these men pretended to serve, very reluctantly consented to submit and to become a puppet in incompetent hands.

Reflecting afterwards on the possible consequences of their violence, the insurgents deemed it prudent to send a deputation to France for the purpose of vindicating their proceedings. Of this deputation the Roman Catholic bishop of Cork and the two Luttrells were members. In the ship which conveyed them from Limerick to Brest they found a fellow-passenger whose presence was by no means agreeable to them, their enemy Maxwell, whom the Duke of Berwick had sent to watch their motions and to traverse their designs. It is on record by various writers of their party, that Henry coolly proposed to frustrate these instructions by tossing Maxwell into the sea, and but for the bishop and his brother Simon he would have accomplished the murder. The pleadings and counter pleadings before James at Saint Germain's by Tyrconnel and Maxwell on the one part, and by the Luttrells on the other, are fully detailed in the various memoirs of the party of this period. The decision of James was characteristic as arrived at after long hesitation and frequent vacillations. He gave all the quarrellers fair words, and sent all the parties back to fight it out in Ireland, while the Duke de Berwick was recalled to France.

The result may be anticipated. Betwixt the new commander, General Saint Ruth, and Tyreconnel, the lord-lieutenant, now returned to Ireland, there arose, through the intrigues of Henry Luttrell, a vehement jealousy. At the siege of Athlone many officers who had signed an instrument to that effect refused obedience to the lord-lieutenant while in the field, and but for the quickness of the English capture would have turned Tyreconnel out of the camp. The death of this functionary a few days afterwards at Limerick nearly led to a second mutiny when it appeared that, in the commission under the great seal of James then opened, among the names of the lords justices appointed in the event of Tyreconnel's death, not only were the names of the Luttrells again not to be found, but that the parties there named for the office, although Irishmen, were of Saxon parentage. A few days before this took place Henry Luttrell himself had been put under arrest. Always fond of dark and crooked policies, he had opened a secret negotiation with the English for the surrender of the town, and one of his letters had been intercepted.

On the capitulation, and on the day when, according to its terms, those who resolved to accompany the faithful to France were required to announce their determination, Henry Luttrell filed off as choosing to remain in Ireland. For his desertion, and perhaps for other services, he received a grant of the forfeited estate of his elder brother Simon, who firmly adhered to the cause of James, and with it a pension of five hundred pounds a-year from the crown; but incurred the undying hate of the Roman Catholic population. Twenty-four years afterwards Henry Luttrell was murdered while going through Dublin in his sedan chair. The commons house of Ireland declared there was cause to suspect he fell a victim to the hatred of the Papists. Eighty years after his death his grave, near Luttrell's town, was violated by a succeeding generation of avengers, and his skull was broken to pieces with a pickaxe. Such is the vindictive spirit of an otherwise noble nation. Such the false code of revenge for supposed desertion when instigated by fanaticism. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp by the Scotch Covenanters has its parallel in the murder of Henry Luttrell. But the deadly hate of which the latter was the object descended to his son and his grandson;* that of which the former was the, perhaps accidental, victim died with himself.

* "There is," Junius wrote eighty years after the capitulation of Limerick, "a certain family in this country on which nature seems to have entailed a hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved on the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successors." Elsewhere he says of Luttrell the member for Middlesex, he of the famous Wilkes' contests, the grandson of Henry, "He has degraded even the name of Luttrell." He exclaims, in allusion to the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Mrs. Horton, who was born a Luttrell: "Let parliament look to it. A Luttrell shall never succeed to the crown of England." "It is certain that very few Englishmen," says Lord Macaulay in referring to these observations of the great satirist, "can have sympathised with Junius' abhorrence of the Luttrells, or can even have understood it." "Why then," asks his lordship, "did he use expressions which to the great majority of his readers must have been unintelligible?" My answer," replies Lord Macaulay, "is that Philip Francis was born and passed the first ten years of his life within a walk of Luttrell's town."

ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

AT the accession of James I., the state of the church in Ireland was one of ruin and dilapidation; neither were its endowments sufficient to give efficacy to an establishment, circumstanced otherwise as it then was, in the midst of barbarism and civil disorder of every kind, and from every cause: nor were its ministers sufficiently qualified to diffuse the light so much wanting, in the surrounding moral and spiritual obscurity of the country. The church of Rome, at the same time, held a station and asserted an influence not much more advanced. But a series of workings and events were from this date about to set in, which was largely to alter and modify the condition of both. The chiefs were ignorant of letters, and indifferent about religion: they only thought of recovering, extending, or securing their dominions, and preserving their iron jurisdiction over the people, on whom they lorded it with absolute control. This power was only to be maintained by preserving the friendly outwork of that perfect ignorance, which, in its various degrees, is the fruitful mother of civil degradation. The church of Rome was, through some of its faithful servants, striving for a still denied and contested influence; but the progress which it had made had been hitherto insufficient to enable it to direct its force, with effect, against the rival church of England. It had yet enough to struggle against, in the jealous opposition of the chiefs who had sagacity to perceive, that it might enlighten and must emancipate from their grasp those whom they so firmly controlled. So lax, accordingly, was the actual resistance to the supremacy asserted by the English church, that the laity of the Romish communion in Dublin were regular in their attendance at the parish church; and this attendance, though enforced by a law, which, under other circumstances, might be justly called tyrannical and harsh, was not the object of complaint. Though the law was severe, there had been no severity in the general spirit of its administration: it had been generally the mind of Queen Elizabeth's government to be strong in the assertion of power, but mild in its application; and the principle was preserved in the case of the Romish church in Ireland.

The English church had its own disadvantages to cope with. Insufficient both in its endowments and organization, its parochial clergy were not sufficiently provided in means or attainments, to bear up against the pressure of irreligion and ignorance, by which they were surrounded. It was not easy at that period to find persons of sufficient spirit, information and ability, to execute so obscure and laborious yet unpromising a task as that of an Irish country pastor, among a community as lawless as the absence of law can make human beings.

and as untaught as the herds they tended or stole. For the reader will recollect that the ancient civilization of Ireland had been swept away by many centuries of internal war. In such a state of its means, and of the obstacles with which it had to cope, it cannot be surprising that an efficient ministry could not be provided, or that they were observed by John Davie to be "such poor ragged ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) that we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth 40 shillings per annum."

With such a state of ecclesiastical affairs, the beginning and cause of worse, James's first archbishop and bishops had to struggle; the following long, but not too long extract, contains the testimony of Archbishop Jones—"I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of, which is, that I cannot get curates to supply the service of these churches; the rectories are improper, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to a minister, for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers; for the natives of this kingdom being generally addicted to popery, do train up their children to superstition and idolatry, so soon as they come of age to send them beyond the seas, from whence they return either priests, Jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to the state. Such English ministers and preachers as come hither out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many times they prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care of their placing in the best manner I can. Some livings are fallen void, since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents for the present."

HEBER MACMAHON.

DIED A. D. 1660.

HEBER MACMAHON was the Romish bishop of Clogher: we have not found any authentic materials for even the most cursory sketch of his history; but he was a man of talent, virtue, and wisdom. Although his character and even his name have sunk into the obscurity of his stormy period, only known in the record of those deeds of prominent evil or good which such periods bring forth; yet if truth, honesty, and wisdom, are entitled to superior praise when found among the fanatic, the false, and the deluded, few of his day are more deserving of a place among the illustrious than MacMahon.

It was sometime in the year 1649, when the original party of the Irish rebellion had been worn by its dissensions and disasters, but still was sustained in a protracted existence by the general confusion of the kingdom, and the absence of the powers of constitutional control. The cross waves and currents of the civil wars in England had come into collision with the Irish rebellion, and a confused war of parties and party leaders was kept up, in which every party looked to its own objects. In this medley of force and fraud, all the varied objects of

every party were gradually beginning to be lost in the predominance of that, most uncontrolled by any principle, most reckless in conduct, and ruinous in design, headed by Owen O'Neale and other leaders of the same class, who were endeavouring to hold out in the possession of their lawless robber force, until the weakness of all the rest should place the kingdom at their mercy.

Of these, it was the obvious policy to sell their arms to highest bidders, to make individually the best bargains for present advantage, to keep the strife alive, and, whatever way matters might fall out, to be on terms with the uppermost. The consequence was, that while a bloody and fearful retribution was preparing for this hapless and infatuated nation, the two main parties were in a manner doomed to look on in a nearly defenceless condition, and to endeavour to make such terms, as their means afforded, with the lawless hordes whom the appetite for plunder and the love of license attached to their leaders.

In this state of things, the nuncio of the papal see—the impetuous, vain, obstinate, and weak Rinuncinini, laboured to maintain a sinking cause. Incapable of perceiving the actual tendency of events, and dead to the warnings of present circumstances, he resented the defection of many, and the caution of others of the papal ecclesiastics, who saw more distinctly the crushed condition of the country, and the failure of all their resources. The supreme council of Kilkenny had been disarmed of its assumed authority, so soon as it manifested a disposition to peace, and lay under the excommunications and interdicts of the nuncio. Among the more moderate and informed of every party, there was a just sense of the necessity of a speedy termination to such a state of things, and a conviction of the alternative which was daily assuming a more certain and formidable aspect, in the increasing strength and resources of the parliamentary power.

The Romish prelates in Ireland met at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the course most expedient in such a juncture. They were, however, variously inclined, and met with many differences both of view and purpose. Sensible, for the most part, of the necessity of the peace, they were not equally so, as to the manner and means to be pursued: with some, the influence of the nuncio prevailed; some could not acquiesce in the compromise essential to agreement; but with the body, the intrigues, misrepresentations, and flighty pretensions of the marquess of Antrim prevailed.

In such an assembly it was that the ascendant ability of Heber MacMahon turned the scale. To his clear and sagacious observation, everything appeared in its real form, unclouded by the illusions of party feeling and party artifice. He saw the iron hand of the armed commonwealth freed from the restraints which it had shattered along with the monarchy, and already uplifted to subdue and crush all other pretensions to revolt: he saw the people who had been betrayed into a wild and mad resistance, broken and prostrated—deserted, betrayed, and scattered into irretrievable helplessness and suffering: he felt the ruin and dilapidation which covered and rendered desolate the entire aspect of the kingdom in every direction. Perhaps, too, looking back on the history of his country, he saw in that ruinous scene of things a repetition of that cycle of perpetual folly and wickedness, followed

by vengeance and the tyranny of distrust, which had dwarfed the prosperity of the kingdom; nor are such suppositions merely conjectural, as he was in habits of intimacy with the wisest statesman and truest patriot of his age and country, James, first duke of Ormonde:

Of MacMahon's conduct on this occasion, Carte has given the following account. After detailing the crimes and intrigues of the marquess of Antrim, he proceeds to say, "at this time the bishop of Clogher baffled all his measures; and as by his conversation of late with his excellency, we had formed the highest opinion, as well of his talents for government, as of his zeal for the good of his country, he represented him in such a light to the assembly, that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or silenced and deterred them from asserting the contrary. The lord-lieutenant indeed treated this bishop with very great respect, on account of the power which he had with the Ulster Irish, and conversed with him on the affairs of the kingdom very frequently, with great freedom and familiarity. He was a man of better sense than most of his brethren, and saw the absolute necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man for their defence; for which reason he laboured so hard with this congregation of the clergy, that he got them at last to enter into a superficial union, for burying all that was past in oblivion, to declare that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish, English, or Scots royalists, and their resolution to punish all the clergy who should be found to encourage them."*

Of the bishops who joined in a declaration to this effect, the greater part were rather influenced by the superior reason, than thorough converts to the views of MacMahon; and on separating, many of them neglected to enforce or follow up their declaration, while some proceeded directly in the contrary spirit. Yet such an instrument was in itself well adapted to produce serviceable impressions, and not the less highly indicates the character of the source from which it virtually came. Such in truth was the only value of the act: the time of repentance was past, and no virtue or wisdom could save the people from the infliction which was to come.

Not long after, according to agreement with the province of Ulster, the marquess of Ormonde gave a commission to MacMahon,† to command in that province. The nature of this agreement was, that, in case of the death of Owen O'Neale, the nobility and gentry of Ulster should have the nomination of one to command in his stead. This event having taken place, they chose MacMahon; and their appointment was confirmed by the marquess, on the ground of the "care, judgment, valour, and experience in martial affairs, as also the leading and good affections of you to do his majesty service, have nominated and appointed, and hereby do nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop Ever MacMahon, to be general of all his majesty's said forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, native of this kingdom," &c.

In virtue of this commission, the bishop proceeded to the discharge of his new, but, perhaps, more appropriate functions, with vigour and

* Carte, i. 105.

† Ormonde's Letter, dated May, 1660.

skill, against the parliamentary troops, which he contrived to annoy in every quarter of the province, by skirmishing parties of all dimensions. After sometime, however, he was attacked by Coote: the conflict was severe, and at first, for a while, victory appeared to incline to the Irish: in the end, superior discipline obtained some advantage for the parliamentary troops, when their cavalry decided the day. The bishop rode with a small party of horse from the field—the next day he was met by major King from Enniskillen, and attacked—he defended himself with heroic bravery, and it was not till after he was disabled by numerous wounds that he was taken prisoner. He was soon after hanged by the order of Sir Charles Coote.

JAMES MARGETSON, PRIMATE.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1670.

MARGETSON was born in 1600, in Yorkshire, and graduated in Cambridge, from whence he was promoted to the living of Watley in Yorkshire. That his conduct in this parish was in every respect worthy, is proved by the fact that he had the good fortune to attract the notice and approbation of Wentworth, than whom none was more likely to form a just estimate either of the man or the christian teacher. Afterwards, in 1633, when Wentworth came over as lord-deputy, he prevailed on Margetson to resign his Yorkshire preferment, and attend him into Ireland as chaplain. In two years after, he presented him with the rectory and vicarage of Annagh, in the diocese of Kilmore. From this, in the next four years, his promotion was rapid, as he was successively advanced to the deanery of Waterford, of Derry, and finally, in 1639, of Christ Church in Dublin; and, at the same time, pro vice-chancellor of the university, and prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.*

In the rebellion of 1641, his charity and zeal were amply manifested by his liberal benevolence to the sufferers. All that could be done in that dreadful period, by those who were in any way exempted from the general calamity, was the alleviation of the privations and afflictions from which none escaped but those who were protected by arms and fortified walls.

In 1647, he joined in the declaration made in answer to a message from the parliamentary commissions, and substantially proposing the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer. From the tyranny of this party, now completely masters of the city, he found it necessary to make his escape; and, like many others, he sought a refuge in England, but found none. After much fatigue and repeated alarms, he was taken prisoner; and having been first shut up in Manchester gaol, he was hurried, according to the turns of party, from prison to prison. After some time, he was released, in exchange for some military officers, and proceeded to London, where he had the best chance of passing unnoticed in the crowd. In seeking safety, Marget-

* Dalton's Bishops.

son by no means counted on any compromise of his duty, should it in any way present itself. The reputation of his integrity and charitable deeds had gone before him; and many, whose benevolence or regard for the loyal cause was greater than their courage, were glad to find one whom they could intrust with the means of relieving the distressed and persecuted loyalists. He did not shrink from the great dangers, and still greater fatigues and hardships, attendant on that ministry of mercy and loyalty; but made repeated and most hazardous journeys through the kingdom, bearing needful relief to numerous parties, both of the clergy and laity. Among those who were thus indebted to his courageous charity was Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, who, like himself, had been driven from Ireland. In such a tour, and at such a time, when every part of the country lay involved in some impending terror, it must be easy to apprehend that many strange and singular adventures may have occurred, which might have supplied materials for a diary more instructive and curious than could otherwise easily be put together. The worthy Dean had indeed something else to think of; but among the incidents of his pilgrimage, one is mentioned which bears upon a question which has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is mentioned by his biographer that "he happened on a gentleman sick and on his death-bed, to whom he administered spiritual comfort, together with the holy offices of the church on such occasions. By that dying person he was told, that he had been sometimes one near on attendance on that late sacred martyr, King Charles the First, in his solitude; that to him had been by the King delivered, and committed to his charge and care to be preserved, those papers, which he said he knew to have been written by the king's own hand, and which were after published with the title of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ."* The Bishop has not named this person, so that it is not easy to conjecture whether or not the anecdote can be considered as additional testimony on this ancient and curious controversy, of which the reader may well happen to be forgetful. After the Restoration, a person of the name of Gauden, who had been in some way employed in conveying the sheets to the press, claimed the authorship, and was believed by the King, the Duke of York, and Clarendon. But it was not until forty years after the event, when all parties who could have been considered as authority were dead, that the question was in any way made public. It has been frequently since revived; and, considered simply with reference to the external evidence on either side, offers vast, and we believe, insurmountable difficulty. But we have little doubt in saying that the balance is clearly against Dr Gauden, as all his witnesses evidently derive their authority from himself, or from those who, like him, had some immediate personal interest in the preferment which he claimed on the merit of the book. It is remarkable that Gauden cuts the ground from under his own feet, as the act to which he lays claim involves at the outset a most shameful and infamous fraud: his advocate must set out by claiming for him a character unworthy of credit, in order to prove a gross improbability on his testimony. Having had no previous intimacy with the fastidious and haughty monarch, who

* Cited by Mr Dalton, *Life of Margetson*.

in confinement stood on terms approaching defiance with his foes, he came to propose to him to risk his reputation, sacrifice his pride, and violate all sense and principle of honour, by the gratuitous baseness of taking false credit for a book, to the composition of which he is allowed to have been himself fully competent. Then, following the well-known course of literary impostures, he takes the time favourable to his purpose; and when it has become unlikely that he can be authoritatively contradicted, he reveals his pretended service, with cautious stipulations of profound and inviolable secrecy, of which the manifest purpose was to prevent the lying secret from reaching the ears of a few venerable persons, who would quickly have exposed the miserable scandal. And having done so, he pressed, with a most ferocious disregard of all decency, for a bishopric, which he obtained. The Earl of Clarendon, the King, and the Duke of York, could have no direct knowledge of the truth. The royal brothers, both alike indifferent to truth, were no friends to the real reputation of their father, and not displeased to see transferred from his memory, a book the substance of which was but reproach to their whole conduct and characters. Clarendon had always professed to believe the book to be the production of the King; and when he received the guilty revelation of the scheming and mitre-hunting Gauden, it was under the seal of the most inviolable secrecy—a secrecy which, we may observe, was in no way objectionable to any party then concerned. Against a testimony little removed from infamous, we should consider that of Levet, the king's affectionate and intelligent page, who never left him during the time assigned to the composition of this work, to be far more than equivalent. "I myself very often saw the king write that which is printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper; and seldom that I read it but tears came from me: and I do truly believe that there is not a page in that book but what I have read, under the King's own hand, before it was printed." To this is added, from the same authority, the evidence of several persons—the printer, the corrector of the press, and the bookseller, who speak to the handwriting, as ascertained from other documents. These, with the assertions of Bishops Inson and Earle, we should consider as decisive in the scale of testimony. As for the host of indirect testimonies, which we cannot here notice on either side, we surmount the difficulties by considering them all as amounting to no calculable value. We know too well the various resources of such frauds, not to know the impossibility, after a little time of silence, of tracing the various trains of contrived accident and seemingly unthought-of confirmation which may be laid by one who is allowed to wait his time, and work in darkness for an end unforethought of but by himself. But if, instead of this digression, we were engaged in the full discussion of this *vexata questio*, we must confess that the internal probability has impressed us, some years ago, in an actual perusal of the *εἰκὼν βασιλική*, with a force that rejects all doubt. The whole texture of the book is the most peculiarly characteristic emanation, bearing the very living stamp of the author's mind—a mind utterly beyond the reach of Gauden's coarse and low-toned spirit to conceive, and breathing the whole sentiment and affections suited to the character

and actual position of the royal sufferer, whose powers of composition are otherwise known to have been such, as renders unaccountable and absurd, the notion that he should have sullied the dignity of which he was so tenacious, so far as to be the accomplice of a superfluous imposture. We can here only add, what should not be omitted, that we must believe there could have been no contest upon such a question, but from the strong anxiety of a party, in everything to lower the character of Charles I.

When the Restoration, after an interval of ten years, once more revived the drooping and prostrate condition of the church in this kingdom, Margetson was appointed to the metropolitan see of Dublin, and was one of the eleven bishops consecrated by primate Bramhal, on the 27th January 1660, as mentioned in the life of that prelate. In 1662, he had occasion to enforce the principle of pulpit-jurisdiction, which has been warmly canvassed in our own times, for which reason we must here decline entering into the controversy, which would lead us far into the discussion of principles more applicable to the church of Ireland in its present state, than to the age of bishop Margetson. We may but observe, that in our own times the reasons for enforcing that degree of episcopal authority which is affirmed in the 28th and 29th of our canons, has been rendered apparent enough by cases in which infidelity has contrived to find its way into the pulpit; while the limitation of that jurisdiction which we think equally deducible from those canons, seems not to be altogether superfluous when the political character of the times must always expose us to the risk of bishops who may feel more inclined to repress than to promote the spiritual advance of the church.

During the short interval of Margetson's tenure of the see of Dublin, his liberality was shown in ample contributions to the repair of the two cathedrals. But on Bramhal's death in 1663, he was by the advice of that able and sagacious prelate, translated to Armagh; and shortly afterwards he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university.

It is unnecessary here to pursue a career only marked by the same course of public events which we have already had to repeat. Margetson died in 1678, with the praise of all good men; as one who had discharged the important duties of his high office, with that rare combination of strictness and charity, which won for him from his clergy that respect tempered by love, which belongs to the parental relation. In him, severity when needful came so softened by affectionate regret, that it was felt by the person on whom it fell, to come from the office and not from the man, and to bear the sanctity of just authority without any alloy of anger. He was not less mild and paternal in the rule of the church, than firm and uncompromising in her defence, and in the maintenance of her interests and lawful rights, never failing either in the council or in the parliament to advocate and maintain them under all the varied assaults of that age of trial and emergency.

He was interred in Christ church.

JAMES USHER, PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

BORN A. D. 1580.—DIED A. D. 1656.

THE family of Primate Usher is traced from a person who came over to Ireland with King John. His name was Nevil, but (after the fashion of the time), he received the name of Usher, from the office he held under the king. This appellation was transmitted through a long line of Irish descendants. Of these, in the 17th century, two rose to the highest dignity in the Irish church. The first, Henry, may be noticed for the honour of having been instrumental in the founding of Trinity college. Arnold Usher, a brother of this prelate, and one of the six clerks in the Irish chancery, married a daughter of Mr. James Stanishurst, a master in chancery, recorder of Dublin, and speaker in three parliaments, father to the learned person noticed in a previous memoir, and by this marriage was father to the most illustrious scholar, prelate, and church historian of his age.

From these parents, James Usher was born in Dublin, in 1580. In his early infancy he had the good fortune to be brought up by two aunts, who being blind from their youth, were domesticated in his father's house. Shut out by their infirmity from the excitements and vanities of the world, they had also escaped its corruptions, and found their refuge and consolation in the sequestered ways of religion: and their blindness was enlightened by the purer inward light which is derived from divine truth. From such teachers, the infancy of Usher was from the earliest dawn of childish thought, nurtured in holy knowledge and love: and habits as well as tastes were imparted, which now may appear to have been the providential, as they surely were the appropriate, training for a high and responsible calling in times of great trial. The soil was good ground in every respect: young Usher was as apt to learn as he was afterwards to teach: he showed a quiet, submissive and studious disposition, a retentive memory and quick apprehension, with a peculiar aptitude to receive religious impressions. Nor can we have any doubt in tracing to these peculiar and most interesting circumstances, much of the affecting and impressive piety which, at a remote period of his afterlife, sustained him in so many and such great trials and adversities.

Such a childhood and such a life, indeed, offer the truest illustrations of the wisdom of the inspired precept, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," &c.; for, omitting the trite truths of the power and permanence of youthful habits, and the obvious advantage of pre-occupying the heart with the impressions which are best, and least found in the ways of life, there is a natural return of the affections to the conversation of early years, which increases, the more man finds disappointment in the attractions of life. And it is a happy coincidence when this bright spot in the retrospect is a hallowed spot. It is one way of converting the natural affections into alliance with that spirit, against which our earthly nature is too much at war; and it is a blessed thing, if in a world all the hopes and desires of which

are strongly repugnant to every holy desire or good counsel, the memory of those parents and friends and seasons, to which every heart of human mould must from time to time turn most fondly, should come laden with still higher and holier thoughts, and carry up the heart to that seat on high, where the teachers of holiness have gone to their reward.

Such was the happy lot of that illustrious prelate of whose earthly pilgrimage we are now to trace the trying and difficult path. And if his infancy was thus happy, his subsequent education was at least attended with some curious and interesting circumstances. On his tenth year, he was sent to a school kept by two very remarkable men.

Mr Fullarton and Mr Hamilton were two Scotchmen of considerable talent and learning, sent over by the king of Scotland, to cultivate an interest in favour of his claim to the crown. And as the jealousy of Elizabeth on that point was so well known, it was both safe and prudent to adopt some specious pursuit to cover their true design. They set up a school: and considering the dearth of education in Ireland at the time, there was perhaps no course more favourable to that purpose, than one which must have rendered them at once objects of interest to all who were likely to be in any way serviceable, by influence or information. They quickly established the species of intercourse and correspondence, which was considered desirable for their employer's cause. When he came to the throne upon Elizabeth's death, he knighted Fullarton, and raised Hamilton to the peerage by the title of viscount Claudebois.

To the school thus opened, James Usher was sent. And there, for the term of five years, he distinguished himself by his rapid proficiency in latin and rhetoric, the chief school acquirements of the age. He of course attracted the favourable attention of his masters, whose care of his instruction he often afterwards mentioned with gratitude.

It is stated on his own authority, that Usher while at school, had a great love of poetry; and, considering the imitative tendency of youth, this would be a natural result of the first acquaintance with the latin poets. We have already noticed the curious and grotesque imitations of his cousin Richard Stanihurst. English poetry then offered few models, and though these were no less than Chaucer, Spenser and Shakspeare; yet considering the state of literature in Ireland, and the "great scarcity of good books and learned men" then complained of there, with the usual course of school discipline, it is not likely that Usher had formed any conceptions of style more tasteful than those of his cousin. He says, that he laid poetry aside, as likely to interfere with his more useful and solid pursuits, and to those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not appear to have been his calling.

The afterpursuits, in which he has acquired permanent renown, were according to his own account of himself, determined by the chance perusal of a book written by Sleidan. Of the state of learning in that period of our history, it would be difficult to speak, as we would wish, within the moderate compass afforded by the task we have in hand; but happily, the expansive literature of the age in which we live, requires little digression into collateral topics. It was one of the characteristics of the learned histories and treatises of an early age,

that they were replete with far-sought and multifarious erudition: it was a maxim, that a book should contain everything in any way connected with its subject; such was indeed the essential condition of a contracted range of knowledge and a scarcity of books. To write a book commensurate with the demands of that period, was the work of a life spent in research and diligent study; and perhaps required far more than the average of intellectual power now employed in similar undertakings. Such powers are for the most part of a nature to impose a determinate direction on the faculties; the force of genius will impel on, or create its way, because it cannot fail to have some decided tendency. In the life of Usher, the marks of such a tendency are distinct enough; but there is a deep interest in the contemplation of the spirit of the several times, in which the great master-builders of the fabric of human knowledge have severally grown up to the fulfilment of their tasks. We shall hereafter have occasion to enter on a more complete and extended view of the academic discipline of Usher's period: a few remarks may here sufficiently illustrate his entrance on the laborious and useful pursuits of a long life, spent in researches of the utmost importance to the ancient history of these isles.

For some time previous to that in which we are now engaged, a considerable revolution in literature had been slowly in progress. The recent cultivation of the literature of the ancients was beginning to improve the taste, as also to give more just notions of the use of human reason than seem to have been entertained in the middle ages, when words became invested with the dignity of things, and the forms of logic were confounded with the ends of reason. In that obscure transition of the human mind, the end of intellect had been lost in a thousand nugatory refinements upon the means. But though the world was then rapidly emerging from this chaos into daylight; yet, it was rather to be perceived in the beginnings of new things than in the disappearance of the old. Of polite literature, it would be a digression to speak; the fathers of English poetry stood apart from the obscurity of their times, and the great dramatic writers of the Elizabethan age had not as yet received any place in the shelves of general literature. The impulse of modern letters was to be received independently of all pre-existing progress, and to emanate more strictly from the standards of antiquity, than from the irregular though splendid models of the previous periods. A single glance into the best writers of the early part of the 17th century will not fail to illustrate the rudeness of men's notions of style in prose or verse: the higher efforts of intellectual power as yet rejected the undefined powers of the English language, and the works of learned men were composed in the Latin. From the pure and perfect models which had been embalmed to perpetuity in a dead language, more permanent and systematic forms of literature were to arise, in the very period at which we are arrived: Virgil and Tully sat like the ruddy and golden clouds on the edge of dawn, while the earth lay yet in a glimmering obscurity. In the university of Dublin, by far the most honourable and illustrious incident in the history of the age, this state of things may be considered as fairly represented: as it is now on the advance of human knowledge, so it then possessed the best knowledge proper to the date of its founda-

tion; though this indeed was little more than the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, with the logic and rhetoric of the schools. The only knowledge besides these which could be said to offer any scope to a student like Usher, were theology and history. But of these, it is to be observed that neither of them had been yet exhumed from the imperfect, scattered, abstruse and ponderous mass of voluminous or impracticable reservoirs, in which they lay buried. They had not been dug from the mine of antiquity, and reduced into academical order: to effect this, and embody materials for the student, was the work of Usher, Stillingfleet, and a host of laborious and gifted contemporaries, and successors, from their time down to that of our illustrious countrymen, Magee and Graves.

Again, the mathematical sciences, which, expanded as they now are to the utmost powers and capacities of human reason; and embracing in their grasp all realities below revelation, had little existence beyond their forms and principles; and these but cumbrously and inadequately developed. They must have attracted, but could not satisfy an intellect that tended to results; as manifesting the clearest and most satisfactory exemplifications and exercises of reasoning, they could not fail to become a temporary discipline or entertainment; but they terminated in comparatively slight results and common uses—they did not lead as now, to the temple of divine power and wisdom, and open to the wonder and curiosity, the illimitable heights and depths of the creation. The far-searching and subtle resources of transcendental science were profoundly concealed; the superb structure of reason, observation, and mechanical skill, which makes astronomy the triumph of human intelligence, was but in its dilatory foundations; the wondrous results of electro-magnetism, and of physical optics, with a host of brilliant and useful applications, of which the very names are additions to language, and which make the realities of modern science more wonderful than the fictions of old magic—had no existence then. They are the results of the intellectual labour and genius of after-times, and the light and glory of our modern universities.

From this summary sketch, it is easy to pass to the consideration of the natural direction which the genius of Usher would be likely to receive from the state of knowledge in his time. Naturally addicted to the pursuit of truth, and rather constituted for research than invention, he followed that broad track on which the best and most practical intellect of his day was sure to be impelled. It is stated, in the dedication of his work on the British Churches, that he was first determined to the study of history by his admiration of a passage in Cicero, "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puer,*" and having Sleidan, as already mentioned, at the same time put into his hands, he determined to devote his study to antiquities. We can ourselves well recollect the impression made on an intelligent youthful assembly of students in Dublin University, by a judicious citation of Cicero's remark.*

* The Historical Society, a spontaneous shoot of the university, more clearly marking, than anything we can here say, the real working of that great and solid institution. It was the exuberant overflow of its instructed intelligence, and such

The first stone of the university of Dublin was laid in 1591: in two years after it was ready for the reception of students. On the admission of students, in 1593, James Usher was one of three who matriculated, and his name stands first on that roll which may be regarded as the chronology of Ireland's progress in learning. Loftus, in a memoir of whom we have already given some account of the foundation, was appointed first provost. Hamilton, one of Usher's masters, was also appointed a fellow, to the great advantage of his pupil. When he entered college, Usher had reached his thirteenth year: he took his degree of Bachelor in 1596. The interval was creditably marked by its fruits. Before he had more than completed his sixteenth year, he had already drawn up the plan and chief materials of his "Annals of the Old and New Testament." Thus, from the very foundation of the university, may be said to have emanated a great work, which laid the solid foundation of chronology. The Bible he was wont to call the Book of books; and considered it as containing the true rule of life,—a sentiment which, though unquestionably involved in the profession of a Christian faith, as being virtually inculcated in the Bible itself, yet either then or now, practically recognised by few. Few, indeed, there are, who, like James Usher, take upon them the example of the Son of God in the wilderness, who met every wile of Satan with an answer from the word of Scripture.

But Usher lived in a day when the follower of Christ was to be assailed, not only by those trials which address themselves to the ordinary frailties of the human heart. His church was in a state of controversy, and invested by no slight array of the hosts of spiritual darkness. It was especially necessary that a scholar, whose knowledge and zeal were so eminent, should be ready to give an answer for his faith. This truth was the more feelingly pressed on the mind of Usher by the state of religious profession in his own family. His maternal relations were members of the Church of Rome, and his uncle, Richard Stanihurst, was a man of distinguished talent. As there are proofs extant of the anxiety of the family, and especially of Stanihurst, to prevail on their young relative to conform to their creed, it may with certainty be inferred, that numerous efforts for the purpose must have been made, and that conversations of a controversial nature must frequently have taken place. Such a position—and in Ireland most protestants have more or less experienced it in their circle of friends, if not among their kindred and connexions—would naturally impart to the zealous temper some direction towards such

as, if justly considered, to exhibit to the reflecting spirit the true essential tendencies of the course of instruction adopted by the university. On this ill-understood question we should be happy to make some remarks; but on consideration we abstain. There is too much to be replied to, and too much to be explained. One remark we must make: they who have fully availed themselves of the prescribed course of academical discipline, are never found wanting in whatever knowledge their position requires. The occasion to which we have above referred, was one of the annual addresses from the chair. It was delivered by Mr Sidney Taylor, since an eminent member of the English press and bar; but whose advance in his profession is far below the just expectation which his high endowments had raised among those who knew him best.

investigations as might best supply the means of defence. In the case of Usher, this motive was quickened by incidents: his uncle was not only in the habit of holding disputations with him, but there is evidence that he even studied and made extensive notes for these: among his writings occurs the title, "*Brevis premonitio pro futurâ concertatione cum Jacobo Ussero.*" But these facts are the worthier of our notice here, because it was from this very controversy with his uncle, that his mind and studies received their immediate colour. He was yet engaged in his under-graduate course, when his uncle, still anxious to serve him according to his own views, gave him to read, "*Stapleton's Fortress of the Faith,*" the object of which is stated to have been the proof of the catholic antiquity of the Church of Rome—a fortunate incident, as in this controversy, it is the only question which is likely to lead to a decided issue. Points of doctrine will, until mankind changes, ever afford latitude for clouds of evasive rhetoric, the subtle fallacies of language, easy misunderstandings of isolated texts of scripture, and the wilful sophistry that appeals to ignorance. The antiquity of the church of Rome, considered with reference to its doctrines, pretensions, and constitution, &c., is a point of historical fact; excluding ignorance, prejudice, and metaphysics, and referring the question to the ever competent tribunal of testimony; and in the instance before us such was the result. Usher, on the perusal of this work, quickly resolved to refer to the only direct testimony on the point, and diligently engaged in the study of the Fathers—a study which we earnestly wish that the more zealous students of every Christian profession would cultivate; and the more, because these voluminous and recondite writings are liable to a perversion from the dishonest controversialist, from which they would be thus in a manner protected. Relying on the common ignorance, such persons have occasionally thought that it did no dishonour to their profession to support it by the most fraudulent and disingenuous quotations, in which these ancient writers have been made to support the very contradictory to their actual opinions.

Long before he had thus arrayed himself from the armory of antiquity, but strong in the surer panoply described by St Paul, and well-versed in the resources of academic disputation, James Usher, though yet but in his 19th year, was ready to meet the most formidable adversary. At this time, the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitz-Symonds, was, according to the barbarous policy of the day, confined in the castle of Dublin: he complained that, "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" the words being repeated, were generally understood to convey a challenge. Usher had at the time attained a high collegiate reputation; his learning and controversial skill, his faculty of language, and the peculiar direction of his studies were known, and every eye was turned upon him, as a fitting champion for the church. The parties met; Usher waited on the Jesuit, and they agreed upon the selection of three topics from the controversies of Bellarmine, and the first topic chosen was concerning the antichrist. On the result there are several statements; we shall, therefore, only place before the reader the most authentic means from which a probable opinion may be with much confidence arrived at—

Usher's letter to the Jesuit. It is as follows:—"I was not purposed (Mr Fitz-Symonds) to write unto you before you had first written to me, concerning some chief points of your religion, (*as at our last meeting promised,*) but seeing you have deferred the same, (for reasons best known to yourself,) I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind, concerning the *continuance of the conference begun* betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great a love and affection unto me. If I am a boy, (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me,) I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister unto you no occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver's beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the Hosts of Israel, and therefore (like the Philistine) you condemn me as being a boy; yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor now do come unto you, in any confidence of learning that is in me, (in which, nevertheless, I thank God I am what I am,) but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, (whose companies you have reproached,) being certainly persuaded that, even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, he is able to show forth his own praise; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that (setting aside all vain comparisons of persons), we may go plainly forward, in examining the matters in controversy between us; otherwise, I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also for my own part may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known whatever hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you, in a few lines, to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, and, praying the Lord, that both this, and all other enterprises we take in hand, may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his Son, Jesus Christ.

"Tuus ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER."

The inference from this letter is decisive and peremptory. Considering the respective characters of the parties, there can be no doubt of the fact that Fitz-Symonds, of whose mission truth formed no part, dealt disingenuously, to ward aside the imputation of having slunk from the contest. In the preface to his "*Britonomachia*," he endeavours to transfer this disgrace to his youthful adversary; but his insinuations are inconsistent with the authentic statement contained in the document above cited. The statement of the missionary is yet valuable for the graphic glimpse it affords us of the person and manner of Usher at the period:—"There came to me once a youth, of about eighteen years of age, of a ripe wit, when scarce as you would think gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute on the most abstruse points of divinity;" but when he tells his reader, with reference to the same incident, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence," we must at once discern the

anxious purpose of misrepresentation. He afterwards saw and acknowledged the weight of Usher's character as a scholar, in a compliment of no slight value from a Jesuit of his day, having in one of his works called him "*Acatholicorum doctissimus*."

In 1599, a public act was held in college, for the entertainment of the earl of Essex, who came over in April that year as lord-lieutenant. Such exhibitions, in the palmy days of scholastic art, when the jejune pedantry of the categories stood yet high among the accomplishments of the scholar, were objects of fashionable interest; the tilt of wordy weapons between two distinguished doctors was a display as attractive to the cumbrous gaiety of that pedantic age, as the rival strains of Pasta and Grisi are now to ears polite. As the pomps of feudal chivalry, these formidable solemnities of the schools have left their forms behind, like antique carving on the structure of our time-built institutions: but then, these acts were far from idle form. No commencing undergraduate then stood conscious of absurdity, under the smile of the proctor, vainly trying to decypher his paper of syllogisms, the wholesale ware of some garret in Botany Bay, and retailed by the jobber of caps and gowns. Then the youthful disputant stood up ponderously mailed in the whole armour of Ramus and Scotus. Here Usher was at home, a champion at all weapons ever forged from the mine of Aristotle to perplex the reason of the world for half-a-dozen centuries: and in the character of Respondent, won approbation from the polished and graceful courtier of Elizabeth.

Such distinctions must have awakened high hopes of future eminence among his friends. His father, himself an eminent legal functionary, naturally saw in the distinguished university reputation of his son, the promise of forensic fame, and high judicial preferment. But young Usher's tastes led to a different end. The love of real knowledge, once thoroughly attained, is sure to repel the dry and barren labour of a purely artificial system, which, notwithstanding its vast practical utility, is but remotely connected with knowledge, and leads to no permanent truth. The maxims of law, resulting from expediency, contemplate but narrowly and obscurely those primary principles in human nature, from which the expediency is itself the consequence; and in our first acquaintance with the rules of practice, the reason is frequently shocked by numerous instances, which indicate the feebleness and darkness of the connexion. Even the rules of evidence, by their purpose necessarily connected with the truth of things, are cramped in legal practice, so as to exhibit an imperfect, and sometimes erroneous view of the laws of probability. To an intellect fitted by its breadth and depth to explore more spacious realms of research, the subtlety, compactness, and precision of such a science, could not be a compensation for such wants: Usher must, from the nature of his acquirements, be supposed to have looked with infinite distaste on a field of exertion, in which the powers which could investigate the depths of time and event, might be exhausted on the validity of a doubtful title or a paltry question of personal right. He did not, however, question the wishes of his father, who fortunately died before any decision could severely test his filial obedience.

The death of his father left him free, and possessed of a respectable

fortune, with which most men would have been not unreasonably content to relinquish the hopes with the toils of professional life; and few indeed would have taken the high unselfish course of Usher. Having set apart a moderate portion for his own wants, and to supply him with the books necessary for the course of study to which he felt himself pledged, the remainder he disposed of for the maintenance of his sisters and brother.

In 1600, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was elected proctor and catechetical lecturer of the university. The distinguished manner in which he discharged the duty of an office for which he was in every way so peculiarly fitted, added to his reputation, and confirmed the election of his course and calling. Another step to his advancement offered at the same time. The reader is already aware of the ill-provided condition of the church in Ireland at that dark period. A want of preachers made it necessary to select three young men from among the students of Trinity College, to preach in the cathedral of Christ Church, before the lord-lieutenant. Richardson, Walsh, and Usher were chosen. To Usher was allotted the afternoon sermon, the subject of which rendered it then an object of the most attractive interest, as it was controversial, and intended to satisfy the members of the Romish communion on the errors of their church; and in this he was so successful that many were brought over to the church. In his catechetical lectures he also made it his business to explain the main articles of the protestant churches, as distinguished from those of the church of Rome. In the previous year, the people of this communion had, under a fine of twelve pence, been compelled to attend divine service in the churches, by virtue of a clause in the act of uniformity. The enactment was at this time enforced, in consequence of the alarms caused by Tyrone's rebellion, and the rumour, not quite unfounded, of a massacre which was designed to follow the victory, if gained by Don Juan. The defeat of this unfortunate leader in 1601, tended greatly both to quiet the apprehensions of the protestants, and to impart a more willing and cheerful feeling of acquiescence among the papists. To render the measure effective, the Dublin clergy were directed to arrange their Sunday duties so as to have a sermon adapted to the purpose of their instruction, at each church, on the afternoon of every Sunday.

Usher was among the most active in this service; having, in the interval, been admitted into holy orders by his uncle the primate. This was, in some measure, in opposition to his own inclination, as he was unwilling to enter prematurely on the sacred calling, before he had attained the lawful age; but the necessity of the time, and his ripeness of attainment, made it plainly desirable; and he yielded to the urgency of his friends. A special dispensation was therefore obtained for the purpose. He seems, however, to have confined his ministrations to the pulpit, justly sensible that the part which had been allotted to him in the Christian church was wider and more permanent than the essentially confined range of duties which are allotted to the parish clergyman. Not, indeed, we feel it necessary to add, that these latter have less vital and essential importance: the defence of the faith—the integrity of Christian doctrine—the constituted authority and dis-

cipline of the church—are but the outward system of that great interest of souls, of which the faithful cure is the vital and essential use and practical end. But there is yet a great distinction: though the ablest development of genius and scholarship that ever yet appeared in the form of a book, cannot, in intrinsic worth, be weighed against the salvation of a soul, yet it is a false estimate, and founded on a vulgar fallacy, that would weigh these results in the scale of opposition. It is enough that the book is wanting, and fills a necessary place in the whole system of the ecclesiastical edifice. The humblest and commonest talents are, by the blessing of God, when rightly directed by proper preparation, and the co-operation of grace, fully competent to perform all that human effort can do in the cure of souls. The encounter with the infidel, the heretic, and the schismatic, demand rare and singular powers and attainments, only the result of long and secluded study and intellectual training. Such faculties, and such capabilities, when they occur, are not to be inappropriately expended on the work that wants not labourers; but to be sedulously devoted to the purpose for which, it is to be presumed, from the known economy of God, they are designed. God is to be served with the best powers of the mind, applied in their most effective mode of exertion. Nor, unless on the presumed opinion that men like Usher are the mere result of chance, can it be presumed that they act in conformity with any view of the divine will, when they resign their peculiar gifts, and take those parts in which they are, indeed, often inferior to ordinary men.

We have already noticed, with the requisite fulness, the political condition of the times, and it is a topic to which we would not willingly return. To an intellect like that of Usher, it must have conveyed clearer indications of its tendencies, than to understandings of ordinary gauge. Men most conversant with affairs seldom have sufficiently the power of just generalization, to look beyond immediate consequences; they are sunk in the complication of detail; and small things, from their nearness, obstruct the mental vision. But the historical intellect soon learns to look on large processes moving in the distance of time, and like the far-sighted vision of astronomy, as compared with common observation, to separate the true motions from the apparent. It is to an impression originating in such habits of mind, that we are inclined to attribute the curious facts connected with Usher's sermon in 1601, in which he applied a prophecy of Ezekiel's to the politics of Ireland. His text was Ezekiel iv. 6:—"*Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days. I have appointed thee each day for a year,*" which he applied to his own country in that remarkable expression, "From this year I reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." Usher claimed no inspiration, yet the coincidence would appear, from its exact fulfilment, to be something more than accidental. None can presume to say whether there was, or was not, some unconscious interposition of Divine power. The fact remains uncontradicted, and no human judgment can alter it. We can at the same time have no doubt of the true source of the impression from which Usher was naturally led to apply the prophecy; an application which we must confess raises our wonder not

the less, from its farsightedness, for it strongly shows the force with which Usher's intellect was impressed by the actual indications from which, while they were beyond ordinary sight, he derived the impression. Nor, making this allowance, does the actual error in the least abate our respect for his critical character; for if the reader will consider the phenomena in that case present to Usher's observation—a church largely intertangled with, and affecting the visible church of Christ, and a nation peculiarly the scene of a great conflict, arising from that connexion, and then looking on the prophecies, as tracing by anticipation the whole history of the Christian church—it is no wonder that so vast a working as he saw, and so dreadful a crisis as he anticipated, should seem to be foreshadowed in a prophecy so aptly coincident. The force of Usher's impression, and perhaps, also, the clearness of his observation, is enforced by further testimony from Bernard's life:—"What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country I can witness, that from the year 1629, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it." Even in the widest grasp of human powers, we can find illustrations of the narrowness of our discernment. To see more fully the common want of political foresight in the actual conduct of political affairs, "with how little wisdom the world is governed," a better example cannot indeed be found than in the whole policy of that age. The government was assuredly equally injudicious in its mercies and severities to the church of Rome in Ireland.

It was in the year 1603, that the English army in Ireland, desirous to establish some appropriate memorial of their success over the domestic and foreign foes of Ireland in the battle of Kinsale, subscribed with that intent £1800, and appropriated it to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. For the outlay of this munificent subscription to the true interests of the country, Usher, with two fellows of the university, were commissioned to visit London; and thus was opened, in fact, a new era in his life. London then, as since, the real centre of human attainment, must have opened a wide field of interest, of which inadequate conceptions can now be formed, when literature is universally diffused, and the ends of the civilized world are virtually nearer than the limits of the British isles were then. Then books were few, knowledge rare, and genius moved "separate as a star," through the surrounding intellectual vacuity and darkness. While Usher and his colleagues were in London, it chanced that Sir Thomas Bodley* was there in the same pursuit: and it is stated, that he contributed to their object by valuable advice, such as his local information and habitual acquaintance with that avocation might be supposed to afford. "It is a pleasing reflection," observes bishop

* Sir Thomas Bodley was a native of Exeter: he received his education at Geneva, and in Oxford. He was much employed by queen Elizabeth, on embassies chiefly. He is worthy of memory for having re-built the library of Oxford University, and bequeathed his fortune to maintain it: he died in 1612, in the 68th year of his age.

Mant,* "to the members of the two universities in aftertimes, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian library of Oxford, and the library of the university of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective place, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices."

On his return, Usher was promoted to the chancellorship of St Patrick's by his early friend Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin. He thus acquired the means of enlarging his own collection of books, with the valuable experience derived from his recent employment. The cure of Finglas was attached to his office in the cathedral, and he applied himself to the diligent discharge of its duty, by preaching in the parish church every Sunday. His natural and characteristic liberality was in this also shown, in a provision for the future discharge of the same duties, by endowing the vicarage of Finglas.

In 1607, Camden came to Dublin to collect materials for the description of Dublin, afterwards published in the last edition of his *Britannia*: in the conclusion of this description, his obligations to Usher are acknowledged, where he attributes his information chiefly to "the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of St Patrick's, who in various learning and judgment, far exceeds his years."

In the same year, having taken his degree of bachelor of divinity, he was then at the age of twenty-six appointed professor of divinity to the university, an office which he filled with credit and extensive usefulness for the next thirteen years. His lectures were directed by the consideration of the spiritual and doctrinal necessities of the age, and with still more especial relation to Ireland. The work of a lecturer in divinity was then, in some respects, such as to task most severely the memory and theological scholarship as well as the controversial abilities of the lecturer. There were then none of those well-digested compendiums containing the history and exposition of every question and controversy from the beginning, which now adorn the country curate's shelf, and make knowledge easy: the materials of instruction were to be gathered from the vast chaos of antiquity, which may be aptly dignified with the character of *rudis indigestaque moles*. The age was then but recently beginning to emerge from the unprofitable logomachy of school divinity—the *vox et præterea nihil* of the brethren of St Dominic and St Francis—of Scotists and Thomists, and all the motley and metaphysical fraternities within the comprehensive unity of the see of Rome. The theology of the middle ages had rejected alike the authority of Scripture, and of the scriptural expositors of the early churches:—the facts which might have been unmanageable, the authorities, which could hardly be subtilized away by the eloquence of Aquinas, or darkened by the logical distinctions of our countryman Scotus, had been by common consent laid aside, and consequently forgotten. It was the pride and policy of the schools to maintain their theological tenets on the basis of first principles, and by the powers of reason, with a subtilty competent to maintain any con-

* Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

tradition. But the Reformation had brought back the war of tongues from the verge of the seventeenth century, to the documents and authority of the early church. A broad glow of morning light was opening fast upon the swamps and labyrinths of the human intellect: and other weapons were become necessary to meet and encounter the palpable and formidable realities which were obtruding themselves upon Europe; these were no longer to be obscured by the mere phantasmagoria of human ignorance, or turned aside by the jarring perversions of Greek philosophy. Yet how far the reformers were to be directly encountered at their own weapons, was yet questionable in the judgment of a policy which has seldom been far diverted from prudence by any dogmatical predilection. In this nice emergency the order of Jesuits arose, with a new organization, to meet the dangers of the time. This illustrious order, though early and without intermission exposed to the hatred of the Benedictines and Dominicans, soon added as largely to the power and extent of the papal domains, as their rivals by their ignorance and other demerits had lost; and though fiercely attacked by the resentment of these rivals, were soon found so effective in their resistance, so subtle and dexterous in their use of means, that it was observed, that even when defeated in the controversy, they contrived to keep possession of the field. Of this order, cardinal Bellarmine, yet living while Usher held his professorship, was then the most conspicuous for ability and learning. There however seems to have belonged to this great man a vein of hardy moral frankness, more consistent with his strong and clear understanding, than with the interests of that great power of which he was the most illustrious champion. It had been among the ruling principles of that great power, not to allow too close an inspection into its fundamental authorities and credentials: and when forced from the hold of politic reserve, it was possessed of unnumbered outlets for evasion in the consecrated obscurity of its retreats: and what the manœuvring of a well-matured system of controversial strategy could not effect, other resources of a more tangible kind were ready to secure. In a controversy, thus conducted as it had till then been, rather by policy or force than by the weapons of reason, and more by evasion than by direct defence, the difficulty was to bring the adversary upon fair ground. The confidence of Bellarmine, founded as it was, on the consciousness of strong reason, and great native fairness of temper, afforded an advantage not to be recalled. He published an extensive and voluminous treatise on the several controversies which had then arisen between the church of Rome and its adversaries the Protestant churches. In these volumes, this illustrious Frenchman threw aside the flimsy but safe resources which had so long been the bulwarks and battlements of human error, and ventured to collect and state the arguments of the protestant divines fairly, and without any important abatement of their force. These he answered with eloquence and skill; such as, indeed, to render his work no unfair representation of the facts and intrinsic value of the cause of which he was the ablest and most respectable supporter. This achievement was, however, far more effective in drawing upon him the force of the adversary, than winning the approbation of his friends. The pontiffs shrunk aghast from a

work in which with more practical wisdom than the great Jesuit, they saw the real effects to be so far from the intention: and he was then and after censured by more politic doctors of his church.

It was by means of this inadvertent honesty of the great leading controversialist of his own day, and Romish authority since, that Usher was enabled to perform the master-stroke of bringing an adversary into court. The infelicitous boldness of the cardinal offered many of the most important questions, fixed beyond the subtle tergiversations and evasive shifts of polemical dexterity. To what extent Usher actually availed himself of this advantage, so judiciously seized, we cannot discover. It is certain that he went very far in labouring on a favourite topic, of which it will now be generally admitted, that it occupied the time of more profitable questions. The fallacy of the effort to identify Antichrist with the Pope has exercised the ingenuity and learning of later divines, but may now be considered at rest: we should be sorry to disturb its repose; but having long ago read much controversy upon the subject, we must venture so far in behalf of our professor, as to say, that the mistake was one not well to be avoided, as its detection has in fact been the result of further discoveries of subsequent commentators, by which the characteristics assigned to one prophetic person have been since divided between two. Though the fulfilment of the prophecies has been clearly shown to be accurate to a degree which has proved prophecy to be a rigidly faithful anticipation of history,* yet in no instance has anything to be called precision or even near resemblance been attained in the interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy. Of the failure of human interpretations the Jewish history offers one sad and notorious example, though the prophecies of Daniel were least liable to misapprehension.

It was during the period of his professorship, that he is mentioned to have written a "digest of the canons of the universal church," a work which has never been published, though still extant in MS. As we can conceive the scope and execution of such a work, there could be none more laborious in the performance, or more universally salutary in its uses.

In 1609, Usher again visited England in the quest of books: his general reception, the gratifying intercourse with persons of learning and genius, the various opportunities of extending his acquaintance with authors and men; and last, in all probability, the obvious circumstance, that there lay the great high road to fame and preferment, which though secondary objects to men like Usher, cannot be overlooked altogether without some obliquity in the understanding: all these so far interested and attracted him, that his visits to England were afterwards periodically repeated. On these occasions he seems to have evidently made the most of his time; a month at each of the universities, and a month in London, was but enough to satisfy the moral and intellectual craving which had accumulated in the mental seclusion of three years, and to maintain the kindness and respect

* The reader is referred to Mr Keith's two works on the Prophecies, in which this point is proved with a clearness, precision, and fulness, which leaves nothing wanting of certainty.

due to such a distinguished visitor. On these occasions, it may be superfluous to add, that in each place every collection of books was freely opened to his curiosity; and wherever there was learning or talent, he was eagerly sought and enthusiastically received. Just before the visit here particularly referred to, he had composed a dissertation inquiring into the origin and foundation of certain estates, supposed to be derived from the church in early times. These were the *termon* or *Tearmuin*, privileged lands, which though held by laymen, were exempted from taxation, and subject only to certain dues to bishops or ecclesiastical corporations, from or under whom they were originally supposed to be held. Concerning the precise origin of this tenure, there is yet much ground for dispute. Nor after perusing many statements, should we venture to decide whether the lands in question were possessed in virtue of an original right reserved in the patrons, or an usurpation founded on the abuse of an ecclesiastical office originally administrative simply, or on the encroachments of power under the pretext of protection. The question at that time became important, by reason of the poverty of the sees and endowments of the Irish church, and the anxiety of the king to secure the foundations of the settlement of Ulster—the only real prospect of Irish improvement—by giving extended influence and efficacy to the church. Usher took that view of a difficult subject, which was most favourable to these important views: and to those who weigh the command of authorities, with which he treated the subject, and consider the high integrity and sound judgment of Usher, it will appear that he was as sincere in his inference, as his object was in itself important and beneficent: to him the extension of the church appeared, as it was, an inestimable interest: on this point his zeal is known. But we think that every essential step of his inquiry is encumbered with doubtful questions: and we are by no means inclined to coincide in the sweeping application, by which the ancient estates of ecclesiastical foundations were to be resumed, in favour of king James's churches and sees. Whatever be the true history of the *Tearmuin*, the disputants, ancient and recent, overlook a great principle, which is the foundation of all rights,—prescription: which after a certain lapse of time fixes the right without regard to the manner of its acquisition. This principle, however, may operate in contrary directions, at periods remote from each other: and considering this, the writers who would resist Usher's conclusion, with a view to present right, have perhaps overlooked the principle which makes the discussion nugatory. The property was to be resumed, on the ground that it was still *de jure* ecclesiastical: and the argument could only be met by maintaining some species of usurpation. On this latter supposition, there would be undoubtedly, in the days of James I., a prescription in favour of the persons who were immemorially in possession: but the resumption would in a few generations, by a parity of reasoning, take the place of the original wrong; and the actual right in being, become as fixed as that before it. And hence it is, that we see no reason for now going at large into an argument in which the antiquary alone can have any concern. Nevertheless, as the reader may be curious to learn some particulars of the facts of

this question, we shall, without undertaking to do more than our authorities, mention a few of the leading points.

In ancient times we learn from Giraldus and other antiquarian writers, that the endowments of the ancient abbeys and churches fell under the care or protection of their powerful lay neighbours. In times when rights were uncertain and feebly guarded, and when arbitrary proceedings and usurpations constituted rather the rule than the exception, protection, naturally subject to abuse, stole into encroachment, and encroachment into usurpation: the ecclesiastical lands became gradually the possession of the laymen, by whom they were protected and administered, subject to a certain proportion, we believe a third, for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical corporation: and prescription, the mother of right, confirmed this species of estate. The lay proprietor thus constituted, did not, however, suffer any lapse of the privileges attendant upon the original tenure, and the property thus held retained the ecclesiastical privilege of being exempted from taxation. It was thus, according to some antiquarians, called *termon* or *privileged*; in Usher's words, "tearmuin is used in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary." He seems to think the word may have been "borrowed by the Irish, as many other words are, from the Latin, *terminus*, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and bounds: *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se.*" So far this ancient state of things is tolerably free from any essential difficulty; but from this so many nice differences exist between antiquarian writers, that we should exhaust pages in endeavouring to cast the balance between them, without after all arriving at any certainty. The holders of the estates above described were called Corban and Eirenach, which latter were inferior in dignity. The Corban, it seems agreed, were sometimes lay and sometimes clerical; but the times and other circumstances are liable to question. We believe the rationale to be this; that in the primitive signification, the words implied certain ecclesiastical offices and dignities connected with the estates, and by an easy and natural transition passing with them into a lay character. The Eirenach were, by the admission of most antiquarians, the archdeacons whose office it was to administer the estates of the church. Concerning the Corbes there is more difficulty: but it is clear, that they were at times lay and at times ecclesiastical; and also that they were persons who held some right in the estates of bishoprics and abbeys. Usher is accused of confounding them with Chorepiscopi, who were monks raised to the episcopal order, without the ecclesiastical power, province, or temporal dignity and estate. The Corban, as well as we can understand writers who have themselves no very clear understanding on the subject, come so nearly to the same thing, that the dispute as to their difference, may well be called *de lana caprina*: according to those learned writers who would make this weighty distinction, they were *successors* to ecclesiastical dignities, and it is further admitted that they were possessed of the estates of the dignitaries in subsequent times, when it is testified by Colgan, that they were mostly laymen. Now considering these premises, we think that the writers who would convict Usher of having

confused these ancient offices, have proceeded on very slight and not absolutely authoritative grounds. It must, however, be admitted, that these offices were not absolutely in their whole extent identical at any time, from the impossibility of the thing. And it must be allowed, that the Corbans were mostly laymen in the time of Colgan, who deposes to the fact. But in reasoning back to their earlier history, we should in the absence of more minute information, incline to agree with Usher's notion, granting it to be insufficiently guarded. The importance of the point then was that it evidently tended to establish the ecclesiastical character of estates vested in the Corban. But we are led beyond our purpose.

As we have said, the difficulties experienced by the king in the ecclesiastical settlement of Ireland, were increased by the conflicting claims of different parties, lay and ecclesiastical: while the clergy put in their claim to considerable portions of his grants. The lay lords possessed, and would, if they were suffered, have held with a firm gripe the lands of the church: according to the king's complaint, "he found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and the place of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts."*

The condition of the livings, and of the churches, was equally deplorable. To remedy this state of the Irish church, the king ordered a general restitution of these possessions, and that such lands as could be ascertained to have been ecclesiastical, should be restored. At the same time, he ordered that composition should be offered those who held abbey lands, or sites belonging to cathedrals, or other episcopal property. Or in such cases, where a fair equivalent should be refused, that the patents should be vacated by a regular process: in this, proceeding on the not unwarranted assumption of the illegality of the patent. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were engaged to give up their impropriations and their tithes, in consideration of a full equivalent from the crown lands.†

Usher's discourse, which, with great force of reason, and a copious pile of authentic proof, appeared satisfactorily to clear the fact on which the entire arrangement was reposed as its principle of decision, could not fail to be acceptable to the king, who alone is responsible for the application. It was presented by Bancroft, and received with approbation. And such was its importance deemed, that it was translated

* Carte, L. 17.

† Carte, Leland, Mant.

into Latin by the celebrated antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, in whose glossary it was published.

In 1611, when he had attained his 30th year, he was offered the situation of provost in the university. In the infancy of this noble institution, neither the emolument nor dignity of an office which has since, in dignity at least, risen to a level approaching that of the episcopal chair, could be considered as offering a fair compensation for the sacrifice of learned pursuits, of which the extent, interest, and importance, were enough to exact all the time which could be so appropriated; and Usher was independent of the consideration of emolument, so that his refusal may be considered nearly as a consequence. The reader may justly consider the claims of literature at any time, or under any circumstances, insufficient to excuse the refusal of so important a duty; and as an excuse, little reconcileable with the sacred calling, we might refer to the remarks already made in this memoir. But we notice such an objection here to recall the fact, that in Usher's time religion and literature were nearly commensurate; the taste of the age was theology—a fact on which, were we engaged in the history of England or Scotland, we should feel compelled to take a wide range, for the purpose of tracing its vast effects as a political element. Here we need only say, that the structure of our ecclesiastical foundations was still incomplete; and the obscurity of a rude age was filled by a vast mass of floating controversies which embroiled church and state, and finally rushed together like conflicting torrents in the abyss of the civil wars: but the reader will more appropriately recollect the palpable fact of that struggle between adverse churches, on which the fate of his own country then depended: these, and many such considerations, on which we forbear to enter, will convey some sense of the strong leading influences which overruled the course of one who has many claims to be placed high among the most eminent controversial writers of his time. That as a controversialist, such a position may be assigned to Usher, will be admitted on the authority of Milton, who mentions him with bishop Andrews, as the ablest of his opponents in the controversy on Episcopacy.

Of this portion of the eventful life of Usher, we find scanty notices of any personal interest. The growing reputation of the polemic and scholar is indelibly traced by monuments of toil and genius, and this is doubtless as it should be: such men live in their studies, and survive in their works.

In 1613 he took his degree of D.D., on which occasion he preached his two sermons on Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4. These were probably discourses on the topics which they obviously suggest—topics in every way accordant with Usher's views and qualifications, leading as they do into the depths of church history, and largely abounding with the materials for the controversies then most agitated. Of this a reasonable conjecture may be formed from the subject of a great work which he commenced, and in part published in the same year, being his first treatise on the state and succession of the christian churches: a work of great reach and compass, in which, commencing from the termination of the first six centuries, an interval on which

Jewel had perhaps left nothing material unsaid, he showed that a visible church of Christ has always existed, independent of the church of Rome, and untainted with its errors: and that the British islands did not derive their christianity from that church. In the course of his argument, he gives a full and satisfactory account of the Waldenses;—his exposition of the prophecies, as bearing on the history of the christian church, is not in some respects such as to harmonize with the views of modern expositors. This, assuming him to be in this respect erroneous, demands no deduction from our estimate of Usher: the ablest minds have gone astray in the mysterious depths of revelations, which, in a few brief verses, comprehend the events of unborn ages: the dissent of the most powerful and gifted intellects which have enlightened the church, proves how little human faculties can cope with a subject which might have been more plainly delivered, if it were designed to be more surely read. We cannot venture to speak of the quantum of truth or error in the doctrines of the able writers on such a subject as the Millenarian controversy, and this is not the place to express our own views on any topic of controversy. But we ought to observe, that as vast lapses of time are in the Almighty mind compressed into minute points; so on the contrary, in the bounded comprehension of human thought, a little time with its events are expanded into a compass and an importance inordinately large; and thus it seems to have happened that the human mind has in every age been disposed so to narrow the prophetic periods as to conclude the wide drama of time, with the events of the existing age. Of this, there could not indeed be a better illustration than the delusions of the world in every age on the subject of the Millennium, which has always been a dazzling but retreating vision to human enthusiasm. In Usher's expositions on the subject there was undoubtedly none of this alloy; but there was a strong controversial zeal, which found in such views an important accession to his argument. It was, undoubtedly, an adjunct of no slight efficacy against the church of Rome, to find the dawn of the Millennium with its concurrent events in the eleventh century. In a few years more, this argument might have served a different end. The Millennium has ever been a snare to the passions and imagination: unable to rise to the conception of spiritual objects, men too often make an effort to bring down the promises of divine revelation to the level of their senses; and the passions seldom fail to steal in and give their own carnal colouring to the picture. To the truth of this representation, many a dark page in church history bears witness. Usher lived to see an awful example, how such vain and sinful adulterations of divine truth might become an awful ingredient in the caldron of human crime and wrath, when the fifth-monarchy men, in the frenzy of no holy fanaticism, rushed knee-deep in blood and blasphemy to realize their dream of the saints' reign on earth.

Usher's work was presented by Abbot to the king, to whom it was dedicated. The king had himself, some years before, written a book to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, and was highly pleased with the presentation. The main line of argument is one which the labour of after-time has not deprived of its value, either by successful rivalry or opposition. The proof, that there have existed in every age, churches,

founded on the doctrine and testimony of scripture, independent of and opposed in vain by the Roman see, remains beyond the reach of controversy. Many able modern writers have taken up this important subject, and it is one which cannot be too often brought forward by such writers as maintain the side of protestantism. But little can be said that Usher has left unsaid. The work was only pursued to the fourteenth century: in a letter, written some years after, he mentions his intention to complete it, on the appearance of his uncle Stanihurst's work in answer to the first part, then sent to be printed in Paris. This intention was never carried into effect, it is said owing to the loss of his papers in the confusion of the rebellion.

In this year Usher married the daughter of his old friend Chaloner. This marriage had been earnestly desired by Chaloner, who is said to have expressed the wish in his last will. Both parties were inclined conformably to a desire which was founded on his anxiety for the happiness of his daughter, and his deep impression of the worth and sterling value of his friend. The marriage was celebrated, and we believe added essentially to the happiness of both.

The next affair in which Usher appears to have taken a part, which strongly indicates the rising ascendancy of his character, demands notice also by reason of its importance in the history of the Irish church. From the first introduction of the reformation into Ireland, there had formally at least been a strict agreement of doctrine and discipline between the protestant churches in the two countries. The English articles and canons, as well as the liturgy, had been received and agreed to in this island, and there was a generally understood, if not formal, acknowledgment of subordination to the superior authority of the English church. Many circumstances arising out of the state and changes of theological opinions; and the peculiar constituency of the Irish clergy at this time led to a considerable revolution in this respect. Of these causes, a slight sketch will be here enough.

Soon after the reformation, a vast change came over the character of theological studies, which cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, upwards of fifty elaborate works were written, to explain and apply the scriptures and writings of the earlier fathers of the church. But under any combination of circumstances, human nature, still the same, must be productive of the same fruits. The same disposition to frame systems, to give a preponderant weight to unessential points, and on these to run into divisions and sects, which first enfeebled and obscured, and afterwards continued through a long train of ages to overrun with briars the dilapidated walls of the church, still continued in its revival to manifest its fatal efficiency in various ways. The protestant church was unhappily not more free from divisions than that from the communion of which it had departed: but the light and the liberty which were after ten centuries restored, had the effect of making these divisions more perceptible. From this many consequences had arisen, of which we can here notice but a few which are involved in this period of our church history. We need not travel back to trace the progress of dissent in England, after the clergy, who, during queen Mary's

reign, had fled for refuge from the rack and faggot into the shelter of foreign protestant churches, at her death came back laden with the tenets of those churches: from that period religious dissent in England grew broader in its lines of separation, and more decisive in its consequences, till times beyond those in which we are engaged. In Ireland the difficulty of finding qualified ministers for the poor and barbarous livings of the country, excluded much nicety of selection on the part of the government, and numerous ministers were imported, of whose practical qualifications in every respect it is impossible to speak justly, save in terms of profound reverence and courtesy: christian in life, spirit, and teaching, they were nevertheless variously distinguishable by their dissent on some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity on which the articles of agreement in all christian churches must needs be distinct and explicit within certain limits. Though entitled thus to all our respect as christian brethren, a question mainly political in its nature arises (with reference to the period), how far an apparent schism in the bosom of the protestant church, at such a time and in such circumstances, must have been detrimental to Ireland. Among the prominent facts which may be specified, as of immediate importance to this memoir, was the general disposition of the Irish clergy to the doctrinal tenets of Geneva. This tendency probably gave activity to their desire of independence of the English church, which, considering the distinct polity of the two kingdoms, their common government, and the consequences essentially resulting from these two conditions, was natural. To secure this independence, a strong temper had therefore been some time increasing, and in 1614, when a parliament and convocation were held in Dublin, the Irish clergy gave their consent to one hundred and four articles drawn up by Usher, whom superior learning and authority had recommended as the fittest person for so nice and difficult a task.

Of these articles, it is neither the business of these memoirs, nor our inclination, to say anything in detail—we must keep aloof from the labyrinth of pure polemics. Our business is with history. The history of these articles may, and must, here be told in a few words. They were founded on the well-known articles, drawn up by Whitgift in the year 1594, in concert with deputies from the university of Cambridge, then the centre and stronghold of English dissent. They are known by the title of the "Nine Articles of Lambeth," and as may be inferred from their source, were favourable to the views then uppermost in the Irish church. In England, it should be observed, that they never became law, having been rejected by the queen, advised by Andrews, Overall, and other eminent divines, and withdrawn by Whitgift, who proposed them as private articles of agreement between the universities, to reconcile the differences of which, is said to have been the ostensible pretext of their composition. They were again proposed by Reynolds, the puritan divine, at the conference before the king at Hampton court, among other less important (though still vital) conditions of agreement between the church and the puritan clergy, who had not then in England adopted the principle of presbyterian government, although it was on this celebrated occasion sufficiently involved,

so as (perhaps) to be the principal means to secure the rejection of the whole.

The Lambeth articles were ingrafted by Usher into the draught of articles adopted by the Irish convocation, and by the king's consent these were confirmed as the articles of the Irish church. We cannot further stop to detail the character and scope of these articles.* They were in the highest degree Calvinistic. In proof of this it may be enough for us to state, without any comment, a portion of the article "of God's eternal decree and predestination," as follows:—"By the same eternal counsel, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

Other peculiarities of these articles we shall again have occasion to notice, when after no long interval they once more were brought into discussion. They were now received and confirmed in this convocation, and for a time continued to be received and signed as the articles of the Irish church. They had the effect in Ireland of setting at rest all present differences between the two main bodies of the protestant clergy. In England, however, this act appears to have been very much looked upon as the result of a conspiracy to strengthen the party of the English Calvinists, by obtaining a strong party in Ireland.

Such was probably the spirit in which the agency of Usher on that occasion was censured in the English court. The king's sense on the subject was actuated by opposing considerations. He had professed his assent and favour towards the doctrines of Calvinism, while he hated the puritans, whose views of church government he considered as inconsistent with the rights of kings—the point on which alone he cherished any sincere zeal. It was conveyed in whispers to the royal ear, that Usher was a puritan, and it was understood that the king entertained towards him a distrust unfavourable to his hopes of preferment. But Usher stood far too high at this time, in the esteem of all who were in any way influential in either country, for the whispering of private rivalry to be long suffered to remain unchecked by contradiction. Such prejudices as may have been thus raised, had but time to become observable, when, in 1619, the lord-deputy (St John) and council took up the matter with creditable zeal, and urged him to go over to England, with a letter which they wrote to the privy council, to vindicate his character. In this letter they mentioned the reports and calumnies which were supposed to have influenced the king, and testify to the truth, in the following high and strong representation:—"We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented, and his majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being a man who has given himself over to his profession, an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, [con-

* To those who wish for general information, enough may be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church; in which, by judicious selection, a fair outline is given of a subject otherwise beyond the compass of common readers.

formable with each other,] as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire him."

With this favourable testimony, Usher passed over to England, and had a long conference with the king, who was highly satisfied with his opinions and delighted with his learning, judgment, and masterly command of thought and language. Happily, during Usher's sojourn in London, the bishoprick of Meath fell vacant, and the king nominated him at once to that see, and boasted that "Usher was a bishop of his own making; and that, although indeed the knave puritan was a bad man, the knave's puritan was an honest man."

The appointment gave universal satisfaction; for by this time Usher stood high with the learned of Europe. By the learned he was respected for his talent and erudition, while his worth obtained friends, even among those to whom his profession and known doctrines were ungrateful. "Even some papists have largely testified their gladness of it," wrote the lord-deputy, in a letter of congratulation on the occasion. He preached soon after in St Margaret's church, before the English house of commons, who ordered the sermon to be printed. It was a discourse on transubstantiation, from 1 Cor. x. 17. The occasion was such as to set in a very strong aspect the general respect for Usher's controversial ability. The commons had, it seems, conceived the idea that some of the Romish communion had obtained seats, and it was considered that the most satisfactory test would be afforded by the sacrament, for which the house appointed Sunday, 18th Feb., 1620. The prebendaries of Westminster claimed their privilege, but the house, with its characteristic tenacity, insisted on its own choice. King James was at the time engaged in a matrimonial negotiation for prince Henry with the Spanish Infanta, and shrunk from a proceeding which set in a glaring public light the national creed, which, it was feared, might offend the bigotry of that superstitious court; but having been appealed to on the occasion, he signified his preference of Usher. On the Tuesday previous to this anxious occasion, "being Shrove-Tuesday, Usher dined with the king, and had much conversation on the subject." Of this his own account remains:—"He [the king] said I had an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, on so short a warning, to receive the communion on a day: all could not be in charity after so late contentions in the house. Many must come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required his whole household to receive the communion, but not on the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and their country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*." This practical concluding application of the royal divinity, so ludicrously characteristic of the speaker, must probably have exacted some power of countenance in his hearers.

On returning to Ireland, Usher was consecrated by primate Hampton, 1621, at Drogheda, where consecrations by the primate had

commonly been solemnized, on account of the jealousy of the archbishops of Dublin, while the point of precedence remained yet undecided between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. Usher entered on the duties of his see with the alacrity and prudence which had till then marked his character. The conduct he pursued to the members of the church of Rome was gentle but firm: their conversion had ever been one of the principal objects of his life, to which his researches and preaching had been mainly directed. He now endeavoured to win them by gentleness and persuasion. It was his wish to preach to them: they objected to coming to church, but consented to attend and hear him anywhere out of church. Usher borrowed the sessions' house, and his sermon was so impressive and effectual, that the people were forbidden by the priests to attend any more.

On the proceedings of the missionaries of this church in Ireland, at the period at which we are now arrived, we have already had occasion to offer some notices: some little further detail will now be necessary to explain justly the conduct of our bishop in a proceeding which drew upon him some very unmerited obloquy. At this time it so happened, that numerous friars had begun to flock into the kingdom, and the see of Rome had begun to assume a determined and earnest line of policy, with reference to the extension of its pale, and Ireland came in for an ample share of the mighty mother's regard. This fact may itself be generally explained to the reader, by an event of distinguished importance in the history of the Roman see—the institution of the congregation of the Propaganda, fertile in consequence, and itself the consequence of a vast infusion of fresh life, which took place in the year following Usher's promotion. On this point, a letter written in 1633, from the bishop of Kilmore to the bishop of London, gives an authoritative view of the essential particulars. The writer mentions, "That in that crown [of Ireland] the Pope had a far greater kingdom than his majesty had; that the said kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new congregation, *de propaganda fide*, established not long since at Rome; that the Pope had there a clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the heads of which were bound by a corporal oath to maintain his power and greatness, against all persons whatsoever; that for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, there was a rabble of irregular regulars, most of them the younger sons of noble houses, which made them the more insolent and uncontrollable; that the Pope had erected an university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, one Harris being dean thereof, who had dispersed a scandalous pamphlet against the lord-primate's sermon preached at Wanstead, (one of the best pieces that ever came from him,) anno 1629; that since the dissolving of their new friaries in the city of Dublin, they had erected them in the country, and had brought the people to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the commandments as God spake them and left them, but flocked in multitudes to the hearing of such superstitious doctrines as some of their own priests were ashamed of; that a synodical meeting of their clergy had been held lately at Drogheda, in the province of Ulster, in which it was decreed, that it was not lawful to take the oath of al-

legiance, and therefore, that in such a conjuncture of affairs, to think that the bridle of the army might be taken away, must be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man, which whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his majesty's service, but expose his own neck to the skeans of those Irish cut-throats.* This is but one of many such authentic documents, from which it appears that a change of tone and spirit began to elevate in Ireland the head of a power and party so often subdued in vain. Fears began to be excited among those who had lived long enough to recall the miseries and terrors of old times: the authority of Usher was insulted, by a repetition of scenes which had often signalized the approach of troublesome times, and the reader may recollect the long-cherished anticipation to which every year had added new strength in his mind. He saw in everything that occurred the pregnant signs of the war to come: and whatever was his error in theory, his conjectures were at least coincident with events, and the inference is not unworthy of attentive consideration. A true anticipation, though it should be the chance result of human error, is still as certain a clue to appearances, as if it had been derived from the infallibility of demonstration. Usher, if at first right by error, must have looked with an enlightened eye on passing events; for in the sequence of human affairs, the causes are easier to deduce from the consequence, than the consequences from the cause: a cause may undergo a thousand modifications, any one of which may change the event, but the event necessarily fixes the series of which it is the result. It is thus easy to apprehend how, in adopting a consequence truly, Usher became possessed of a principle of interpretation, which, however obtained, must have opened his eyes to the future. Had he been inclined to sleep on his post, as an overseer of the church, the authorities of the papal power in Ireland were to be accused of no relaxation, and there was no mixture of fear or conciliation in the course of conduct which confronted him even in his own diocese. They had not only forbidden attendance on the protestant churches, but went so far as in some places to seize on them for their own use. They also had erected or repaired ecclesiastical edifices at Multifernan, Kilconnel, Buttevant, &c., &c., as also in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny, with the express intention of restoring the "ancient religion" in its imagined splendour of old times. These significant indications had, in Usher's time, not diminished under the increasing relaxation of civil vigilance. The relaxation was doubtless in itself salutary, and the result of a great natural process of society, by which severe and harsh laws fall into disuse as the necessity for them decreases—a provision for the advances of civilization. But in Ireland such processes have been ever unhappily neutralized by actions about as wise as an attempt to promote the growth of a plant by mechanical force; and no sooner were the fears and animosities of troubled times beginning to lose their force, than they were doomed to be re-excited into a festering vitality, by the renewal of the ancient indications of the periodical eruptions of national folly and fury; and the inefficiency of the Irish executive government supplied no counterbalance to this deeply and widely gather-

* Life of Laud, by Heylin.

ing evil. A mist of perpetual infatuation hung suspended over Dublin castle—artful misrepresentations, fallacious appeals, and the abuse of general principles, the missapplication of which has ever constituted a large portion of the wisdom of public men—false equity, false clemency, and false public spirit, with wrong notions both of human nature and the social state, united with private interest, timidity, and indolence, to preserve the still and dignified repose of the administration, till the moment of danger was present. To the class of imbecile officials, of which an Irish government has been too often composed, tardy to meet danger, though often ready enough to be vindictive in the hour of triumph, Usher had no affinity: he was neither yielding from weakness that fears, or vanity that courts the popular sense. As he had been zealous to conciliate by love, and convince by reason, so he was ready to repress, by a just and salutary exercise of the law, when he considered that the necessity had arisen. That this was the real import of every indication of the times, was indeed a truth; but it is enough that it was the impression of his mind, and this consideration may satisfy the reader of the real character of that conduct which at this period of his career excited much clamour among his enemies, and surprised some of his friends; when he made a strong appeal to the lord Falkland, on being desired to preach before him on his arrival as lord-deputy, when he received the sword of state. On this occasion, Usher took for his text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," and so strongly urged the duty of enforcing the laws, that an outcry was excited. He was accused by foes and reproached by friends; but the fury of those against whom the weight of his counsel seemed levelled, was such as to create considerable alarm. Nothing less than a massacre of the papists was reported to be the subject of his advice. It was strongly urged upon him to prevent, by a "voluntary retraction," the complaints which were in preparation against him, and for a time to withdraw into his diocese. Such was the sum of the advice of the good primate Hampton, his old friend and patron. Usher was a man of more firm mettle, or if not, at least more truly awake to the real emergencies of the time. He addressed a letter to lord Grandison, in which he firmly maintained his own conduct, and vindicated himself from the perversions of his sense. He pointed out and insisted on the fact, that he had guarded against such misconstructions, and deprecated persecution. Indeed, considering the actual attitude of defiance which had at that moment been taken by the Romish friars, the mere notion of persecution having been thought of by any party sincerely, is extremely absurd. Usher's representations were not only just and wise, but moderate; but no moderation can silence the clamour that is never sincere, or be enough for those who prefer inaction, or who can see no danger less than a tempest or conflagration. Nevertheless, Usher's vindictory letter had the effect of silencing many who had no desire to provoke inquiry, and all who were open to reason; and as there were many who entered fully in the same views, the effect was that of a triumph. The primate in his letter seems to have delicately impressed upon Usher his opinion on the inclination which appeared in his conduct, to pass his time in the city rather than in his diocese; and it will be generally allowed, that for the most part, the proper place for

a bishop is among his clergy, where his duties lie. But we have already, in this memoir, expressed at sufficient length the grounds upon which men such as Usher must ever be looked on in some measure as exceptions. In that early stage of literature, when the structure of our theological foundations demanded so much of that ability and skill which were yet more difficult to attain, men like him must have felt the call to fill the place of master-builders. It may, we grant, be said, that there is no necessity why they should be bishops, and in our own time we should be inclined to allow something for the point; for the demands of christian theology are very much diminished. It seems, indeed, hard, that the most able writers should at any time be excluded from the highest stations. This is, however, but specious; such persons may find their reward and their vocation elsewhere.

The position of the protestant church in Ireland was then peculiar; and we know not whether we must give credit to Usher's sagacity, or suppose his mind and temper cast providentially for the exigency of the times; but his conduct with regard to the presbyterian clergy was not only indulgent, but marked by a liberality which, though called for by the state of the Irish church, might in other times have exposed him to the charge of being somewhat latitudinarian. He allowed several who yet continued to be presbyterians, to retain their cures, though they rejected the liturgy; and allowed presbyters to join him in the ordination of such as adhered to that communion. In answer to the objection which seems to be suggested by this departure from the fundamental principle of the existence of a church, (the strict maintenance of its own constitution,) it must be said, that without this he should have had many benefices utterly unprovided with a clergyman. And it must be allowed, that when such an alternative is unhappily imposed, the essential interests of christianity should be considered beyond all comparison above the minor, though still important question of churches. Not to be ourselves open to the same charge, we should distinctly say that this allowance is evidently limited by the assumption which the immediate case admits of—that both churches agree in those articles of doctrine which are essential to the christian faith.

Less equivocal were the exertions he made to reform and recruit the ministry of his diocese, by the care he took as to their qualifications for the sacred calling, and the assiduous exertions he made to ensure the improvement of those who were in preparation for holy orders. He omitted no proper means to ascertain the moral and spiritual character of those who came to his ordinations, acting with conscientious strictness in the spirit of the apostolic precept, "*Lay hands suddenly upon no man.*" The judicious advice which he gave to the theological students, we may for brevity here offer, as given by Dr Parr.

"1st, Read and study the scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning, and only infallible truth. They can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons—the only rules for faith and practice—the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience—and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms. Therefore, be sure let all your sermons be congruous to

them; and it is expedient that you understand them as well in the originals as in the translations.

"2d, Take not hastily up other men's opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits; but compare them first with the analogy of faith and rules of holiness recorded in the scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

"3d, Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers, or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the main end of preaching.

"4th, Insist more on those points which tend to effect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life. Press these things home to the consciences of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions, but bind them as closely as may be to their duty. And as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God's message as near as may be in God's words; that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand. To which end it is necessary to back all the precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from holy scriptures; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations from authors, and forced rhetorical figures, since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard; but to render hard things easy, is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

"5th, Get your heart sincerely affected with the things you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers may perceive that you are in good earnest, and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage, and which yourself would enter your salvation on.

"6th, Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves. Yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth fantastical words or phrases, or nauseous or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring your preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and person the subjects of sport and ridicule.

"7th, Dissemble not the truths of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, nor give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

"8th, But above all, you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit; for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine.

"9th, Yet, after all this, take heed that you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues, nor with a vain conceit of your parts and abilities; nor yet be transported with the praise of men, nor be dejected or discouraged by the scoffs or frowns of the wicked or profane."

"He would also," says Dr Parr, "exhort those who were already engaged in this holy function, and advise them how they might well

discharge their duty in the church of God, answerably to their calling to this effect:—You are engaged in an excellent employment in the church, and intrusted with weighty matters, as stewards of our Great Master, Christ, the Great Bishop. Under him, and by his commission, you are to endeavour to reconcile men to God, to convert sinners, and build them up in the holy faith of the gospel, and that they may be saved, and that repentance and remission of sins may be preached in his name. This is of the highest importance, and requires faithfulness, diligence, prudence, and watchfulness. The souls of men are committed to our care and guidance, and the eyes of God, angels, and men, are upon us, and great is the account we must make to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the supreme head of his church, and will at length reward or punish his servants in this ministry of his gospel, as he shall find them faithful or negligent. Therefore it behoves us to exercise our best talents, labouring in the Lord's vineyard with all diligence, that we may bring forth fruit, and that the fruit may remain.

"This is work we are separated for and ordained unto. We must not think to be idle or careless in this office, but must bend our minds and studies, and employ all our gifts and abilities in this service. We must preach the word of faith, that men may believe aright, and the doctrine and laws of godliness, that men may act as becomes Christians indeed. For without faith no man can please God; and without holiness no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven."

From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn that it was his custom to preach in the church on the Sunday mornings, "after which," says the Doctor, "in the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lessons, spend about half an hour in briefly and plainly opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the creed alone, giving but the sum of each article; then next time at thrice, and afterwards each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments, the good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it."

By these extracts from the memorial of an eye-witness, it is evident that however assiduous he was in his important studies, Usher cannot be described as remiss in the duties of his sacred vocation. He visited his clergy—instructed them—reproved and controlled when it was necessary—directed and aided their efforts—and, when in the discharge of their duties they met with such resistance and incurred such reproach, as was a natural result from the state of the country, he stood up firmly in their behalf. He also gave much attention to the correction of abuses which had become established in the ecclesiastical courts. In this his sound prudence, however, restrained him, and prevented his going to the length to which Bedell was led by his zeal for right, and primitive simplicity of nature.

During his continuance in the diocese of Meath, many interesting

instances of the benevolent sagacity of Usher's character have been transmitted; we may here select a case, which is rather curious in itself, as a specimen of that derangement which not unfrequently clouds the retirement of studious persons of weak understanding and enthusiastic temper. A clergyman of the diocese, a man of very retired and studious habits, had fallen into the notion that the restoration of the Jews was to be effected by his instrumentality. This insane delusion was reported to Usher, who has given his own account of the circumstances, together with an account of his treatment of another case of the same nature:—"I sent for the party, and upon conference had with him, I put him in mind that his conceits were contrary to the judgment of the church of Christ, from the beginning of the gospel unto this day, and that of old they were condemned for heretical in the Nazarites. But finding that for the present he was not to be wrought upon by any reasoning, and that time was the only means to cure him of this sickness, I remembered what course I had heretofore held with another in this country, who was so far engaged in this opinion of the calling of the Jews, (though not of the revoking of Judaism,) that he was strongly persuaded he himself should be the man that should effect this great work, and to this purpose wrote an Hebrew epistle, (which I have still in my hands,) directed to the dispersed Jews. To reason the matter with him I found bootless. I advised him, therefore, that until the Jews did gather themselves together, and make choice of him for their captain, he should labour to benefit his countrymen at home, with that skill he had attained unto in the Hebrew tongue. I wished him, therefore, to give us an exact translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew verity, which he accordingly undertook and performed. The translation I have by me, but before he had finished that task, his conceit of the calling of the Jews, and his captainship over them, vanished clean away, and was never heard of after.

"In like manner I dealt with Mr Whitehall; that forasmuch as he himself acknowledged that the Mosaical rites were not to be practised until the general calling of the Jews, he might do well, I said, to let that matter rest till then, and in the mean time, keep his opinion to himself, and not bring needless trouble upon himself and others, by divulging it out of season. And whereas he had intended to write an historical discourse of the retaining of Judaism under Christianity, I counselled him rather to spend his pains in setting down the history of purgatory, or invocation of saints, or some of the other points in controversy betwixt the church of Rome and us." This advice so far prevailed with Mr Whitehall, that he "offered to bind himself to forbear meddling any way with his former opinions, either in public or in private, and to spend his time in any other employment that should be imposed upon him."

A little after his accession to the see of Meath, a work written by Malone, a Jesuit, had attracted very considerable attention. In this the protestants were challenged to try their church by the test of antiquity: a daring test assuredly, to be appealed to by a church splendidly conspicuous for the well-marked chronology of every portion of its own vast and powerful architecture. Usher took up the

challenge, and wrote a reply which exhibited the extent and precision of his ecclesiastical and theological reading: in this he successively passed in review all those tenets the growth of several centuries by which the church of Rome is distinguished from that of the Reformation.

Some time previous to this incident, he had produced a tract, to which we have had some occasion to refer in the first division of these memoirs, upon "the religion of the ancient Irish and Britons." It unanswerably established the independence of the primitive churches of the British isles: and has never been met unless by that class of reasonings which in raising a cloud of uncertain learning about minute details, contrive to shut out of sight the entire question. The effect of this sketch was a great accession to the high reputation of the bishop; and the king, who justly considered the importance of the subject, and desired to see a work of greater extent and scope, ordered that Usher should have a license from the Irish counsel, releasing him from attendance in his diocese, that he might be enabled to pursue in England the literary researches which such a work would require. Usher accordingly passed over to England, where he was engaged in the assiduous pursuit and acquisition of the most ancient and authentic materials, which give such inestimable value and such high authority to his great work on the antiquities of the British churches.

He was thus for some time engaged, and had returned from a visit into Ireland, which was signalized by the above-related adventure with Malone: when primate Hampton departed this life, Jan. 3, 1625. On this occasion the king raised Usher at once to the head of the Irish church. This occurred but six days before the death of king James, which took place March 27, 1625.

"The reign of king James," writes bishop Mant, has "exhibited the church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

"In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the church, by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution—and although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy, so that the members of the church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for public worship and instruction, or receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation.

“The same observations as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our own notice, of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks: but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the popish emissaries.”*

Among the numerous causes which we have from time to time had to trace or enumerate, as contributing to the protraction of the calamities and sufferings of this island, as well as to the tardiness of growth which has characterized our advance in the progress of civilization, there is none which demands a larger portion of the attention than that described in the preceding extract. But the reader must ere this be aware that it offers topics of reflection, and demands statements and reasonings which are in a great measure inconsistent with the tone of a popular history. In some measure it is true, our facts are so broad in their necessary connexion with the whole fortune of the country: and her history so essentially turns upon the collisions of opposing creeds and the policy of the Roman see, that some may read with a smile our frequent profession of impartiality. We are compelled to state our opinion, that the inadequacy of the machinery of the protestant church in Ireland, for the discharge of its humanizing functions, was the radical defect in the conduct of the legislature and administration. The violent actions and re-actions of insurrection and oppression—the frenzy of the deluded populace, or the sanctioned plunder of official knavery, were but nearer or remoter effects of one elemental force that raised the waters of confusion. If it must be admitted that the evils of an insecure tranquillity and a control inefficient without the aid of arms and military intervention, on one hand, or on the other, the anarchy of civil commotion must be the necessary alternatives resulting from a state of things, in which an alien jurisdiction was maintained by a democratic influence, wholly distinct from and inconsistent with the constitution of the national polity; and such an inference cannot be avoided: then it must be admitted, that the *political* agency of the church of Rome in Ireland was irreconcilable with the welfare of the country; and that a liberal extension and due support of the Reformed church—at that time the powerful engine of human advance in all respects, moral, intellectual, and social—was the only means of remedying the wretched condition of the country. If any of our enlightened readers may by a momentary forgetfulness of history, or by losing sight of the fact that we are speaking of a remote period, think that there is anything illiberal in the spirit of these inevitable reflections, let us remind them, that there was once a time when the supremacy of the Roman see was a real and undisguised empire over the councils of kings, and that this power had been attained and was exercised by the very instrumentality then so con-

* History of the Church of Ireland.

spicuous in the troubled vicissitudes of Irish affairs. On this point no educated person of any creed or party is deceived. And even if the devoted member of the Romish communion may demur as to the principle which would lay any stress on civil prosperity, or any merely secular consideration in a question which he may reason on purely spiritual grounds, yet he must be compelled to admit, that the extension of the church which would for ever have put an end to the internal striving of an external spirit—the force irreconcilable with the law of the system in which it worked, would in a secular sense have been a great and manifest advantage to Ireland.

Usher's appointment to the primacy was followed by a severe fit of illness, which retained him in England to experience the favour of king Charles, who ordered him four hundred pounds out of the Irish treasury.

But his delay in England led to an incident of much interest, which had a very material influence on his after-life, when the foundations of society, and the fortunes of individuals came to be turned up and scattered into confusion by the civil wars. He received and accepted an invitation to the seat of lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough. Lord Mordaunt was a member of the church of Rome, but his lady was a protestant. As it commonly happens, the lady was perhaps more earnest in her spiritual convictions than her lord, and therefore more alive to an uneasy sense of the difference of faith between them. Usher's character was universally renowned as the great champion of his own church, and his visit was looked for with anxious hope by lady Mordaunt, as the likely means for the conversion of her lord. Such an effect might, perhaps, have been of more difficult attainment than her sanguine trust might have foreseen: the tenets of most men are little dependant on their foundation in reason or authority, and are as little to be shaken by mere argument: there is a conventional sense among the bulk of men, that every side of a question can be made good until the opposite side is heard, and large deductions are mostly made by the ignorant for sophistry and probable misrepresentation. An antagonist is therefore no unessential requisite for popular conviction, and such an advantage was not wanting on the occasion to Usher's success. Happily for the wishes of lady Mordaunt, there lived with the family a man of reputed learning, piety, and controversial skill, and a jesuit. It was soon arranged that this person should engage in a regular disputation with Usher. Each was for three days to maintain the defensive against such objections as his antagonist should think fit to bring, and in his turn assume the offensive and urge his own objections. For the first three days, Usher carried on his assault, with what vigour and learning may be estimated from his known writings. The jesuit seems to have been decidedly shaken by the force of his attack; for when it came to his own turn to be opponent—which it will be recollected is necessarily the easiest part—he sent the strange but yet characteristic excuse, that he had been deservedly punished by the forgetfulness of his arguments, for having presumed to engage in such a contest without the permission of the superior of his order. The result was such as should be expected: lord Mordaunt soon declared his adhesion to the reformed

church, and the archbishop obtained a fast and faithful friend, and a providential asylum in the hour of need.

In the next year, the English government, at war with France and Spain, was under strong apprehensions that efforts would be made, as on former occasions, to make Ireland the stage of contest, by the use of that influence which had ever been found effective for the purpose. To meet such a danger, means were adopted of a most questionable character, and resisted on the part of Usher and the Irish church, by a protest no less questionable. To make the papists ready to contribute to the maintenance of the additional forces which were thought requisite for security against the apprehended danger, it was proposed to grant several privileges which would amount to a toleration of their church. But whatever may be said for a liberal toleration on just grounds, it must be admitted, that the grounds assumed were neither just nor politic. If the papists were entitled to the questioned privileges, they should have them without compromise; if not, no political expediency could justify a compromise, such as was designed. We are clearly of opinion, that considering the peculiar political machinery of the papal power in that age, with its power and the real intent of all its workings, the toleration desired was inconsistent with sound policy: but we are as decided in opposition to any constraint or disability of a political nature, on the score of spiritual demerits. For this reason we cannot concur in approving the protest, entitled, "The judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion," which Usher drew up on this occasion, and which was signed by himself and other prelates. Nevertheless the Irish government found itself forced to recall the offer, and lord Falkland applied to Usher to endeavour to persuade the protestant community to remedy the deficiency of means by a liberal contribution. Usher for this end addressed an assembly summoned for the purpose. The effect was not, however, considerable, though of the speech which he delivered on that occasion, it has been admitted, that it merited the success which it could not command.—Among the good deeds of the primate may be reckoned the discovery and promotion of a man like Bedell, whom he brought over, with much persuasion, this year, from his living in Suffolk, to place him at the head of the university.

Usher's promotion enabled him now to prosecute his favourite pursuit of ancient literature; for which purpose he employed a British merchant, resident at Aleppo, to procure for him oriental writings, and by this means he obtained several rare and curious additions to his library. Some of the manuscripts thus imported were of the highest importance to biblical literature. Among these was a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the first which had been brought into Europe, and a perfect copy of the Old Testament in the Syriac. Nor was Usher remiss in the liberal application of these treasures, which were open to the use of those who were engaged in sacred literature. They were placed at the disposal of bishop Walton, when he was engaged in the compilation of his Polyglott, and are now (many of them) in the Bodleian library.

The influx of foreign ecclesiastics was at this time increasing, and though yet not made publicly known by any express indication, the

rising which in a few years after was to take place, was distinctly contemplated by the Irish at home, and its preparations kept at least in view, in Spain and Italy, but more especially in the former. To whatever construction it may have been liable, the conduct of the Romish clergy was not considered as matter of doubt by Usher, or generally unnoticed by the more intelligent observers. In consequence of the representations of the primate, and those of the Irish bishops who joined with him in the protest already mentioned, a proclamation was sent over, in which the actual state of the circumstances is expressed very precisely.* A letter from lord Falkland to the primate states the circumstances attendant on this proclamation:—"A drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, (and perhaps purposely put to it,) made the same seem like a May-game." So confident were the friars and their partisans in the remissness of the government, that such verbal denunciations were only met with open expressions of contempt. They exercised their jurisdiction with unabated force, and "not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England." At the same time, this daring resistance to the law on the part of the papal church was not less prominent than the union of inefficiency and neglect in the protestant establishment. The miserable dilapidation and disorderly abuse of the churches is almost beyond belief, yet amply proved and illustrated by the known condition of the cathedrals and principal churches in the metropolis. The utmost laxity prevailed in the disposal of the benefices, and in the ordination of the clergy. Of these we cannot here afford sufficient space for the particulars,† some of which may recur in some of the succeeding memoirs.

Among other incidents of the same period, connected with the archbishop, was the final decision of the old dispute for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh. The settlement of this question, which had been at various times agitated, was now considered an essential preliminary to the meeting of convocation. The matter lay in suspense until 1634, when Strafford, who was not likely to suffer any question relative to the Irish church to rest, took it up before the meeting of parliament, and summoned Bulkeley and Usher before the council. There he investigated their claims for two days, with the most searching and rigorous minuteness, and a close inspection of every document or allegation. His decision, which terminated for ever this important question, was the following:—"That it appeared, from divers evidences, that from all antiquity the see of Armagh had been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom, and the archbishop thereof reputed, not a provincial primate, like the other three metropolitans, but a national; that is, the sole primate of Ireland, properly so called. That in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the archbishop of Dublin did constantly subscribe after the archbishop of Armagh. That in the statute for free schools, in the 12th of Elizabeth, the archbishop of Armagh is nominated

* Cox. Mant.

† See Mant's Hist. pp. 448—464.

before the archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the 27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the parliamentary rolls. For which reasons he decreed, that the archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, should have precedency, and be ranked before the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings; and in all commissions where they should be mentioned; and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin, as elsewhere; until upon better proof on the part of the archbishop of Dublin, it should be adjudged otherwise."

Nearly forty years later, a similar controversy arose between the titular archbishops of the same sees, and being referred to Rome, was considered in a full meeting of the cardinals, and decided in favour of Armagh, as "the chief see and *metropolis* of the whole island."

In the year 1639, the primate published his celebrated treatise on the antiquities of the British churches, in which he introduces an account of the "pestilent heresy against the grace of God, introduced into the church by the Briton, Pelagius." This work was composed in Latin, printed in Dublin, "Ex officina Typographica Societatis Bibliopolarum," &c., and dedicated to king Charles. It treats on many points on which no certainty can be attained; but when its matter is doubtful, the obscurity is qualified by a modesty and sobriety of statement, which seldom, if ever, fails to reduce it to its real value. Throughout there is a clearness, justness of thought, and sagacity of perception, exercised on a wide range of curious and far-sought material, so as to inspire a confidence that the primate's investigations approach as near to truth as their nature and materials admit of. His work has accordingly been the basis of succeeding labours, on which we shall here decline any comment. Those writers who are to be regarded as his adversaries have seen ample reason to treat him with deference. Having had to consult some of these writers for the purpose of this history, we have been led to observe, that while with much speciousness, and not without some array of authorities, they have questioned some of his statements respecting the early history of the Irish church, they almost uniformly present a marked deficiency in those qualifications of scope and sagacity by which he was so admirably fitted for such inquiries. There is a working of uniform principles, and there is a broad analogy in the course of human occurrences, which offer the safest guidance in the dim distances of antiquity; but to catch these lights upon the wide and glimmering obscurity of time, needs an eye endowed with length of vision and capaciousness of light. There is one general fact of great importance, with relation to the numerous questions which present themselves in the perusal of those ecclesiastical writers who have gone over Usher's ground. His statements, and the inferences at which he arrives, whether in the special instance rigidly correct or not, are yet uniformly maintained by that antecedent probability which arises out of the nature of things, and the general history of the times. To this general rule we would especially refer all the questions which arise on the primitive christianity and first bishops of the Irish church.

We must now enter upon a different aspect of the primate's fortunes. Hitherto we have seen him advancing in a uniform course of

prosperity, and holding the position of dignity and public respect due to his learning, genius, and worth. We may now complete our notice of his history, so far as it belongs to Ireland, by the few scanty gleanings which we have been able to find of personal interest, relative to his residence and domestic habits in the see of Armagh. From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn, that "the order observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a-day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at each of which he was always present. On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly, an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion in the catechism, for the instruction of the family; and every Sunday, in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon. In the winter evenings, he constantly spent two hours in company of old manuscripts of the Bible, Greek and Latin, when about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken down by himself with his own hand." To this we may add, that he was "given to hospitality," and that his guests, both friends and strangers, were uniformly impressed with his frank and courteous demeanour, and the frank and ready communication of his overflowing knowledge. His table was such as became his means and dignity, but still marked by the plainness and simplicity of his character, and the sobriety becoming his office.

When in town, he was in the habit of preaching in St Owen's church every Sunday.

Though as a public man and a writer he may be considered as the great antagonist of the church of Rome, his private conduct to its adherents was uniformly characterized by his benignity of temper and his truly christian spirit. His opposition was untainted by a spot of party or sectarian feeling: his sole desire was the salvation of souls and the truth of the gospel. He left no honourable means untried to conciliate and convince them; by private kindness he won many to receive his instruction: and notwithstanding his known character as an opponent, he was loved and respected by those who were within the circle of his personal influence. The primate knew the distinction, so apt to be lost sight of, between charity to persons and compromise with public bodies.

In the beginning of the year 1640, he was called to England, and never returned to his native country. A long succession of stormy changes, which had for many years been preparing in both kingdoms, at last broke forth in a prolonged and awful confusion of the order of things. The events preceding the rebellion of 1641 have already been fully detailed: we must now follow the primate into England.

The events connected with the entire of this stormy period are among the most generally known portions of English history; and as our immediate subject cannot be considered as much involved in those events, we shall, through the remainder of this memoir, endeavour to confine our narration to the few incidents of his personal history.

On his arrival in England, the primate first travelled with his family to London, from which, after a few days' delay, he went to Oxford. Everywhere he found political and religious animosities

possessing men's minds, and having hoped for peace at the university in vain, he soon returned to London, in the resolution to discharge his own duty, by endeavouring to bring back the people to some sense of their duties, by the bold and free exercise of his tongue and pen.

The impeachment of the earl of Strafford followed soon. In Ireland, the earl had looked on Usher with a jealous eye, as one not well-affected to his policy. But he had judged with his wonted wisdom of the primate, and now showed his reliance upon his ability and judgment, by consulting him confidentially on the line and topics of defence which he was preparing. The primate was also consulted on the same occasion by king Charles, and urgently pressed his majesty to refuse his consent to the bill of attainder. On this occasion it is mentioned, that when the king sent for the primate, it was Sunday, and he was found preaching in Covent-Garden church. He came down from the pulpit to learn the emergency which could authorize so untimely a call, and when he received the royal message, he replied, "He was then employed upon God's business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon his majesty." Having strongly urged the king to refuse his consent, he, after it was weakly given, remonstrated with tears, "O Sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon your conscience; and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill."

When Strafford was doomed by an unjust sentence, he selected the primate as his spiritual counsellor, and considering all things, it is impossible to find a higher testimony to exalted worth and spiritual efficiency. The primate was assiduous in his attendance, and passed the last evening in fortifying the illustrious sufferer in faith and courage. Next morning he attended him to that portentous block, and kneeled in prayer with him on that scaffold which was to be then moistened with the first drops of much English blood. He then received the earl's courageous and affecting last words, and having witnessed his death, carried the account to Charles.

In this year Usher was occupied with bishop Hall in the celebrated controversy on Church Government, in which the opposition was sustained by Milton, then in his 31st year, together with five puritan divines, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; the initials, of which names were combined into the word *Smectymnus*, in the title of the joint answer which they wrote to Hall's "humble remonstrance." The "answer by *Smectymnus*" was replied to by Usher, whose reply called out Milton's treatise "of Prelatical Episcopacy." This controversy was carried on in a succession of defences, confutations, and animadversions, which excited a keen and lively interest in a period of which they discussed some of the great actuating principles. The reader is fully informed on the political interest of this great controversy: there is not here any sufficient motive for entering upon the long narrations and various disquisitions into which it would lead us. But it was then the main ground on which was brought together soon after into a resistless combination, all the popular elements of wrath and ruin, which overwhelmed for a season the constitution and church of England. One of Milton's

biographers has given his voice in favour of Hall's wit, and Usher's argument, against the copious eloquence and angry abuse of Milton and his colleagues. "If the church," writes Dr Symmons, "indeed, at this time, could have been upheld by the abilities of its sons, it would have been supported by these admirable prelates; but numbers, exasperation, and enthusiasm, were against them:" he also remarks, "the tone of this debate was far from mild, and all the combatants, with the exception of Usher, seem to have been careless of manners, and not less intent on giving pain to their adversaries, than on the discovery or the establishment of truth."

Towards the close of the year, the Irish rebellion broke out, and the primate received accounts of the destruction of his property. He was in a measure prepared for calamities, which had for many years been present to his anticipations. A mind like his could not but be heavily afflicted for the ruin of his country, the crimes and perfidy of the people, the suffering of his friends, and most of all, the danger of the church which he had so long been labouring to build up. Yet there mingled with these regrets and sorrows, a sense of gratitude to the hand that had so seasonably removed him from scenes of horror and violence, which were so unsuited to his age and habits.

His library escaped by the firmness of Drogheda, which as the reader is aware, held out against the miscreant O'Neile, until relieved. But except this and whatever furniture he possessed in his house in that city, all his moveable property suffered destruction. The outrages which were perpetrated against the good Bedel, his dear friend whom he had himself brought into Ireland, was a heavy blow to his tenderest feelings: it showed him all that he had escaped more strongly than the report of a thousand atrocities; for Bedel was loved by the very people who were deluded by their infamous and brutal advisers into the commission of outrages against him, difficult to conceive true. Nor is there, amid all the heartless villainies of every description which are crowded together in the record of that time, a record so hapless for Ireland in its after effects, or so dishonouring to its perpetrators, as the mixture of cowardly violence and insult which brought that honoured head in sorrow to the grave. But of this hereafter.

Under these trials, the primate, whose life had been one season of prosperity and honour, now bore up with the meek and tempered dignity which became a christian prelate of the church. As his learning and literary labours had obtained for him a reputation as wide as the civilized world, his misfortunes soon attracted universal sympathy. He was invited by the university of Leyden, to fill one of its professorships, with an augmentation of the salary, in case of his acceding to the offer. Cardinal Richlieu sent him an invitation to France, with the offer of a pension and the free exercise of his religion. These offers were honourable to those who made them; but it was perhaps a higher honour to have declined them under the circumstances. Usher might have availed himself of a refuge, which being a testimony to distinguished worth, would have conferred high distinction; but he preferred his duty and his religion. In that age too, when loyalty was exalted by a prejudice into a virtue of a nobler order than can

now be well understood, and when it involved no lowering imputation to regard the person of the king, rather than the constitution of the monarchy, it may be no injustice to Usher to say, that his attachment to the king, and his reverence for the royal cause, weighed much in influencing his conduct. It is, indeed, quite apparent through the entire of his conduct, that his own comfort and safety were but a secondary consideration in his breast.

It was, nevertheless, apparent enough, that some means of support were necessary to one, whose want, a disgrace to England, had been supplied already by the sale of such effects as he had brought with him, or which had been saved from the wreck of his affairs. The king offered him the bishopric of Carlisle, which he gladly accepted: it conferred at least a sphere of usefulness, and the exercise of his sacred functions; though inadequate as to its temporalities, as the *armies of the north* were quartered upon it.

During the course of the calamitous struggles which succeeded, the conduct and character of the divine or the scholar were of little weight. The efforts of that felon parliament which overthrew the monarchy were with equal success directed against the church of England; but this is not the place to enter into details which have but an incidental connexion with our subject. In the course of events, the bishopric of Carlisle suffered the same seizure and sequestration as every other church possession: the lands were seized, and the palace dilapidated by parliamentary agents commissioned for the purpose. The parliament voted a compensation of £400 a year for the support of Usher; but only consistent in crime and madness, they forgot to carry this ostentatious liberality into effect.

Wearied with the increasing tumult of fear and party strife, which, daily increasing, left no scene unimbittered in London, the primate retired to Oxford in 1642. Here, in a house with which he was accommodated by the kindness of Prideaux, he enjoyed a grateful interval of calm. This habitation was close to the Bodleian library, and he was thus enabled to take up the thread of studies which affliction had broken, and to prepare several valuable papers for the press. During this residence he had also the unspeakable satisfaction of finding a useful field for his ministerial gifts. He preached every Sunday at some one of the churches, and his preaching was blessed with great and unequivocal proofs of good effect. He not only was thus the means of awakening many to a spiritual sense, but, in a great measure, of correcting by his example the vicious style of pulpit oratory, then becoming fashionable in England. His fervent and unaffected manner, the strong simplicity of his natural eloquence, supported by the fulness of his knowledge, and the apostolical sincerity of his faith and charity, had both the effect of winning souls, and by a striking contrast exposing the fustian exuberance of sparkling affectation and tinsel metaphor, which till then passed for eloquence.

In the summer of 1643, the parliament, pursuing the course which it had entered upon for the destruction of the monarchy, consistently proceeded to revise and new-model the church. During this period, Usher preached with great eloquence and effect against the proceedings of the parliament; and at last they became so incensed, that an order

for the seizure of his books, which had been deposited in Chelsea, was made and executed. This act of petty malignity was defeated by Dr. Featly, who had at the moment some influence, and secured the books for the primate by purchasing them as for himself. This worthy divine was soon after discovered to be a correspondent of Usher's, and expelled from their assembly for "adhering to the enemy." His livings were sequestered, his property seized, and he himself imprisoned and treated with a severity which soon put an end to his life.

His residence at Oxford was now employed in a work for the maintenance of episcopacy, and his studies were assisted by Dr. Hammond. He produced a treatise, in which he showed that the bishop of Ephesus exercised a jurisdiction similar to that of an archbishop in the English church.

It is among those circumstances, which in the highest degree should be remembered to the honour of the primate, that while in just and forcible terms he reprehended the foul crimes which were then in their progress, he no less firmly exposed the scandalous amusements of the court party. He delicately but forcibly, impressed the truth that while the crimes of their enemies appeared to them in all their true enormity, they forgot to look to their own sins, and overlooked the awful fact, that evil instruments were sometimes used to execute the judgments of God. And, indeed, the hypocrisy of those plundering and murderous fanatics might well be balanced in wickedness, by the profane and licentious cavalier, whose conduct, though less revolting to the feelings of humanity, or the laws of society, were at least as far from grace. Among the fanatics, it would be unjust to affirm that numbers were not sincere, humble, and pious Christians; crowds were the slaves of a misdirected enthusiasm, and followed their leaders in the simplicity of their faith: but the unhappy conjunction of religion with rebellion of the blackest dye, had the most demoralising influence for many years, not only on their opponents, but on the moral and spiritual state of England.

In the beginning of 1645, the siege of Oxford was expected; and as the primate was become an object of inveterate hate to the parliamentarians, it was generally thought advisable that he should betake himself to some more secure retreat. Accordingly he determined to take refuge in Cardiff Castle, which was then commanded by his son-in-law, Sir T. Tyrrel. He left Oxford with the prince of Wales, with whose escort he proceeded to Bristol, and from thence he safely reached his destination, where he was joyfully received by his daughter and son-in-law. Having taken care to bring a good collection of books with him, he was here enabled for a year to pursue his studious labours in happy and contented retirement, and composed a considerable part of his annals.

During this sojourn, his studies were for a time partially interrupted by a visit from the king, who, after he had left the unfortunate field of Naseby, fought on June 14, 1645, proceeded to Ragland castle, the princely seat of the marquess of Worcester, from which, after a few days of painful indecision, he retired to Cardiff. Here, in the sad conviction of ruin, expressed in his reply to the sanguine suggestions of the fiery Rupert, but still throwing his dependence on God and

the justice of his cause,* Charles found, in the conversation of the primate, a consolation suited to such a frame of mind. It is likely, that like the devoted monarch, to whose breast he then endeavoured to supply the balm and strength which, when human counsels fail, are to be derived from trust in divine wisdom, Usher indulged in hopes founded on the same reliance.

The primate deeply felt the present condition of the king's prospects, and bitterly lamented the overthrow of the church; and when the king left the castle, he expressed his feelings strongly to Dr Parr. But he was shortly after himself compelled to abandon a retreat which had in many respects been so grateful to his feelings. The king's diminishing resources required the concentration of the wrecks of his army; and the outlying garrisons were many of them in consequence drawn away from their posts. Among such cases was Cardiff: the place was abandoned, and the primate was for some time perplexed whither to turn for refuge. Oxford was the desire of his heart; but between him and Oxford there lay a country possessed by the rebels. He had received several kind and flattering invitations from France and Holland, and was balancing them in his mind, when he received an invitation from the dowager, lady Stradling, to her castle of St Donat.

The invitation was seasonable; but it was known that the Welsh had risen in large bodies, estimated to be not less than ten thousand, and occupied the country through which the primate was to pass. Still, among the various defiles of the mountainous districts which lay around, it might be perhaps possible to find some unfrequented way, so as to pass without any interruption from the insurgents: such a path was suggested, and the inhabitants about Cardiff collected together to escort the primate on his way. Unhappily, they did not go far before they fell upon a straggling party, who, having surrounded and seized them, first perhaps with the intention of plunder, but finding the quality of their prisoners, they carried them to the place where the main body lay: there the primate and his party were dragged from their horses, and his baggage and effects were opened, scattered, and rifled of whatever appeared to these lawless insurgents to have any value. The most valuable remains of property, in his possession, consisted of those books which had hitherto been saved to him through every trouble: the chests which contained them were on this occasion broken open, and the books, with numerous manuscripts of inestimable value, scattered through the crowd. It is hard to say to what extremity this outrage might have been carried,—a crowd gathers exasperation from its own actions; and when the work of cupidity was done, the primate and the party who accompanied him, consisting of lady Tyrrel and other ladies, offered incentives enough for all the brutal passions of a mob. But happily, the arrival of several of the officers put a stop to further indignities. These were all gentlemen of the country, and were shocked and indignant at the scene of brutal outrage which presented itself. They instantly threw themselves among the people, enforced order, and compelled the instant restitution of all the property that could be recovered; and having remounted the

* Clarendon.

party on their horses, they escorted them with great courtesy and respect to the mansion of Sir John Aubrey. Here they met with the most hospitable reception. On retiring to his chamber, the primate naturally hastened to examine the state of his most valuable manuscripts, and was mortified and grieved to find that many were missing. These he mentioned as the heaviest and most distressing of all the heavy losses he had till then sustained. "I never," writes Parr, "saw him so troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter, and those that endeavoured to comfort him, 'I know that it is God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advantage of learning and the good of the church.' " It demands but a slight effort of reflection to enter into the feelings thus expressed; and, unless in some afflicting disaster, which strikes the deepest affections of our nature, it would not be easy to devise so trying a calamity. Pain and disease are trials which all are born to sustain, and for which the wise and good are prepared; the loss of fortune can be borne with equanimity by ordinary minds, and in proportion to the sufferer's virtue and wisdom, takes little away, and for a short time; but he who labours to achieve great and perpetual additions to the wisdom of his kind, and the improvement and extension of human knowledge, has learned to identify his labours with great and permanent ends. The years thus spent are not reckoned in his thoughts as merely so much time wasted on the fleeting purposes of common life: they are measured by the durability and importance of their fruits; and when, by some accident, these fruits are lost, the heart is struck with the vastness and irrevocable nature of that loss; for the trifler who wastes life in weaving the sands of human folly, and the philosopher who builds for all future time, have alike but a few measured moments of eternity for all that is to be done on earth, and he who would effect much, soon learns to look with tremulous anxiety on the swift and uncertain succession of his years. We are aware that beyond these feelings of the studious mind, there expands a wider and more profound system of truth: but it is beyond our present scope; we speak but of a sentiment—the error, perhaps the disease, of the philosopher. A loss like that under which Usher's christian spirit bent but for a moment, was the annihilation of a large portion of that for which he had lived: the pile which twenty years had raised for remote posterity was suddenly struck down, and all earthly losses seemed light in comparison.

But this heavy blow, at least, was averted, from the decline of his honourable age. The most respectable inhabitants of the country crowded the next day to pay their respects, and on hearing of these losses, they promised their most active co-operation for the purpose of recovering the primate's manuscripts. A large party was soon assembled, by whom he was conducted to his destination at the castle of St Donat. The gentry of the country, and especially the clergy, were

not remiss in the performance of their promise: the manuscripts, so valuable to their owner, had fallen into the hands of persons to whom they were of no value, and were thus easily recovered. Notices were publicly read and posted at the churches, that any who possessed them should deliver them up to the clergy or to their landlords; and thus, before two months, they were nearly all recovered, and restored to their owner.

Sir Edward Stradling was himself a studious and learned antiquarian, and had been industrious in the collection of rare books and curious manuscripts. Here therefore the primate was enabled to pursue his studies with advantage, and discovered some new and valuable materials. His studies were, however, after a time, interrupted by a violent and dangerous hæmorrhage, which continued for eighteen weeks, so that for a time his life was despaired of. But in the suffering and danger of this illness, it is mentioned by his chaplain that he was still patient, "praising God, and resigning himself up to his will, and giving all those about him, or that came to visit him, excellent heavenly advice, to a holy life and due preparation for death." While thus calmly awaiting the death which he imagined to be near, he was visited by a gentleman related to the family of St Donat, who was a member of the rebel parliament. He addressed him thus:—"Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to have many hours; you are returning to the parliament, I am going to God; I charge you to tell them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the king."

The parliament was destined to proceed in its career of madness and guilt to far more fearful lengths: but the primate happily recovered. It quickly became apparent that England was likely soon to contain no refuge for learning, loyalty, or sanctity. The arena of civil war was clearing on every side, and it was suggested to Usher to seek refuge in some of those foreign universities from which he had often received pressing invitations. A vessel was soon found; but when all was ready for embarkation, a squadron of rebel ships, commanded by a parliamentary leader, came in sight, and approached so near as to render any further proceeding impossible, without the permission of the commander. Accordingly, Parr was sent to this person, and received a rude and contumelious answer, refusing to let the primate pass, and threatening that if he should fall into this ruffian's hands, he would carry him prisoner to the parliament.

Thus baffled in his purpose, the primate was for some time longer detained at St Donat's, but in considerable doubt as to his future proceedings. At last he received a very warm invitation from lady Peterborough, expressive of her continued gratitude for the great service she had formerly received from him, when his controversy with the Jesuit had been the means of converting her late lord—for she was now a widow. He accepted the kind invitation, and left St Donat's, where he had continued for nearly a year. It is mentioned, that on this occasion large sums of money were privately sent to him by several of the gentry in that part of the country, to meet the expenses of his journey. Nor were these acts of private, unostentatious, and disinterested bounty, superfluous: the primate was, at the time, absolutely

destitute of all pecuniary resources. It is surely gratifying to read of deeds so honourable to human nature, and affording so admirable a testimony to the resplendent worth and sanctity of the character, which seems to have awakened and called forth such active and universal benevolence. Nor is the occasion less illustrative of the providential protection so often to be recognised amid the trials of good and holy men, whose care is ever cast on that power by which the righteous is never forsaken.

The primate set out with an anxious mind on his dangerous journey, and arrived without interruption in London, in the month of June, 1646, at the house of the countess of Peterborough. London was at this time completely in the power of the rebels, but with this main difference from the condition of remoter places, that here, whatever there was of learned or noble in the parliamentary party, exercised a restraining influence. The violence of rebellion is always, in some degree, sure to be tempered by those just and true principles which must be recognised to reconcile the better portion of a party to their own conduct, and as this rebellion was unusually strengthened by a mixture of such principles, it was largely tempered by the admixture of good and able men, who had been either carried away by political theory, or by their opposition to the abuses of the prerogative, and who still entertained the hope of first reforming, and then restoring, the disjointed powers of the constitution. In the metropolis, too, the frame of society still held together, though much and rudely shaken, and among the many institutions and corporate bodies, which were still indispensable to order, many persons were allowed to live in quiet at the price of a respectful silence. Here, therefore, the despotism of popular power was broken by forms and restraints, and a respect for opinion enforced more moderate and more humane proceedings towards those who took care to afford no specious handle for outrage. In such a place, the venerable years and high reputation of the primate were comparatively safe: yet such indignity as circumstances permitted was not withheld. The parliament had issued an order, that persons coming from any of the king's garrisons to town, should appear and give notice of their arrival to a committee, which sat for the purpose. To comply with this mandate, the primate sent his chaplain, Dr Parr, to acquaint the committee of his arrival and place of residence. The committee, however, refused to receive the intimation, and insisted on the personal appearance of the archbishop. On a summons he appeared in person, and underwent a strict and curious questioning as to his sojourn and occupation during his absence from London, and whether he had been using any influence with the king in favour of the papists. They then tendered an oath, which had been recently framed for suspected loyalists, but he demanded time to consider it, and withdrew. As he had several friends in the house, there was speedily an interposition of friendly influence, which protected him from further annoyance on this, or any other trouble from the same quarter. Immediately after, he removed with the countess to her residence at Reigate, in Surrey.

In the following year, leave was, with some difficulty, obtained for the primate to preach in London, and he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, who appointed him a handsome

and commodious suite of apartments, to which he removed the remains of his library. He there attended and preached every Sunday, for the following six years, to the Benchers, among whom, at the time, was Mr Hale, afterwards one of the most illustrious ornaments of the king's bench in England. The primate's condition now became one of comparative ease: though deprived of the extrinsic advantages of wealth, station, and authority,—though an exile from his country, and deprived of the presence of the connexions and friends of his life,—yet he was still cherished by the reverent respect of all that remained of wisdom and goodness in these disjointed times; and even in the helplessness of poverty and old age, like a venerable ruin, he was hedged round by the respect even of the enemies of his church. A letter which he at this time wrote to the learned Vossius, gives an affecting sketch of the sufferings of the last few years. Adverting to the Irish insurrection, he writes:—"Thereby, in addition to the public losses, and the most barbarous and savage massacre of protestants that ever was perpetrated, I am myself despoiled of all those external possessions which we commonly denominate goods. My library alone was snatched from the flames; but even that is not yet in my possession; for I again met with tumults and excesses in England, which drove me from Oxford into Wales, where I suffered under a distressing disease for full eighteen weeks, and was at length saved, as it were, from the very jaws of the tomb, by the great mercy of God. I am unwilling to say anything about my reception on my return to London; nor would I have recalled to memory those other sad occurrences, were it not with a view to show you how I have been withheld from literary pursuits, and communication with men of letters."

In September, 1648, the presbyterian party, who constituted a majority in the house of commons, were desirous to secure their apparent preponderance, by a treaty, with the king, then confined in Carisbrook castle. Although there seems to have been little intention of discussing, on terms of equality, the questions of difference there to be proposed, they ordered that a certain number of the clergy of the episcopal church should be admitted, for the purpose of informing his conscience on ecclesiastical affairs; and of those who were summoned on the occasion, primate Usher was one. At this time the king had been a prisoner since the beginning of the previous year, and his friends were much shocked at the change which grief, bodily fatigue, and severe mental exertion, had made in his appearance. Within a year he had become quite gray; but his spirit, unbroken by trial, had collected vigour and firm endurance; and it is mentioned by Hume, and other historians, that on this occasion he astonished the commissioners by the surprising skill, readiness, extent of knowledge, and command of all the resources of reason, through a controversy in which he was for two months compelled to maintain his own side singly against all the commissioners. Yet on that occasion, there was perhaps a deeper anxiety to bring matters to a conclusion among his antagonists, and their position was more affected by a sense of present emergency. The king must have become aware of the unsubstantial value of any conclusion to which he might come with them: they were but a section of his enemies; one of the two great parties leagued

in rebellion against the crown, but deeply opposed to each other; and the struggle between them and their antagonists was at this time approaching a crisis so imminent, that it was a matter of deep interest to bring the conference to a speedy termination. The presbyterians had set this conference on foot, for the purpose of strengthening themselves against the independents. The former possessed the majority in parliament; the latter possessed the army; and it was while Cromwell, the great leader of the independents, was pushing forward, and endeavouring to conclude the war in the north, that the presbyterian party obtained the vote by which this conference was appointed. It is now easy to see how little more than a little additional bloodshed could have resulted from any concession on the king's part. Had he tamely resigned all for which he had so long held out, on the grounds of conscience, the time was past when those who really directed the storm would have closed with any terms short of their own secret views of personal ambition. When the work of such men is to be done by force, it is easy to find just reasons to satisfy the crowd; and, indeed, it should be observed, that the demands of the presbyterians, on the score of religion, were far from commensurate with the latitude claimed by the preaching and canting soldiers of Cromwell, who, having overthrown episcopacy, would have called out for the overthrow of presbytery with equal fury. The king went far in concession, but not enough to content his opponents; but Usher is mentioned to have proposed the concessions of the king, and suggested a compromise on a different basis. His main proposal was, to retain the bishops, and render them subservient to the counsel of the clergy; but this was insufficient. It was thought generally by the opposite party, that the king would have yielded to the apparent emergency of his situation, and given up all to the commissioners, but for the presence and counsel of Usher; and the primate thus, and by a sermon preached during the conference before the king, drew upon himself much censure and violent enmity.

Having taken leave of the king, Usher proceeded on his return to London. At Southampton, he received an application from the inhabitants to preach, but was not allowed by the parliamentary magistrates to comply. Not long after, he was accidentally among the spectators of the king's last earthly pains. The incident is told with much affecting and graphic truth, by Parr. "The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing-cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech: the lord primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his majesty had done speaking, and pulled off his cloak and

doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away; so they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz., prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During this interval, the primate was mainly engaged in his great work on chronology, which, together with his duty as preacher to Lincoln's Inn, occupied his days, and in some measure diverted his mind from the calamities of the time. These labours were, it is true, in some measure made heavier by the increasing infirmities of his advanced age; among which the most distressing was, the rapid decay of his sight, so that he could only write in strong light, and was mostly compelled to follow the sunshine from room to room. He found solace also in the correspondence of many of the worthiest and most learned men of his day, and though firmly attached to his principles, was yet restrained by no uncharitable prejudice from free and kind intercourse with the good and wise of every communion. Among his friends was the celebrated Richard Baxter, who wrote the most popular and useful of his numerous writings at the suggestion of the primate, leaving indeed thus a valuable testimony to the critical sagacity of his adviser. With Hall, Hammond, and other eminent ecclesiastics, whose names are honourably associated in those days of tribulation; as also with Causabon, Vossius, and other celebrated scholars, he kept up a friendly intercourse to the last.

In the family of the countess of Peterborough, whose name is rendered venerable and illustrious by her pious and affectionate care of his last declining years, the primate was attentive to the spiritual welfare of the household, and took a uniform part in their devotions. He was earnest in impressing the necessity of spiritual meditation and private prayer, without which public worship is but a form; and his counsel was maintained and enforced by the consistent tenor of his conduct. As the perceptible progress of decline appeared to bring more near the mysterious barrier at which the cares and trappings of mortality are put off, his spirit was more exclusively and more strongly upheld by faith in the only refuge which can rationally avail against the terrors of that awful approach. When Cromwell found his own power established and firm against the warring crosswinds of creed and faction, he seems for a time to have entertained the idea of relaxing the persecution against the ministers of the church: and it was by many thought to be indicative of good, when in 1654 he invited the primate to visit him. This invitation may, however, with more likelihood be attributed to the increased intercourse with respectable men of every class, which followed his elevation. The primate hesitated; but in addition to the hope of good, he must have felt the contrary result which might follow on a refusal, which could not but carry with it

some portion of contempt. He therefore very reluctantly made up his mind to pay the expected visit.

He was received by Cromwell with the respect and courtesy due to his character, and was consulted on the best means for the general advancement of the protestant religion both at home and abroad. Such a conversation can easily be conceived to have passed with much cordiality, and even unanimity of sentiment; it is probable it was confined to the consideration of political means. But on a larger view, it is plain enough that there were suggestions enough to be avoided with some degree of tact and forbearance. The consideration of Cromwell was more substantially shown; the allowance which the parliament had made for the primate's subsistence, had been suspended for some time; but about this time it was renewed by the Protector's order. He also promised him a lease for twenty-one years, of a part of the lands in his diocese of Armagh: but the promise, when claimed by Sir T. Tyrrel, was afterwards refused, on the suspicion of his being infected with loyalty.

In 1655, Cromwell felt himself strong enough to cast aside even the stern and captious connivance which he had till then maintained towards the church of England clergy; and issued from his council a declaration in which they were excluded even from the private exercise of their ministry. The blow was as deeply felt, and as cruel as it was needless; for the ministry of these persecuted men was purely spiritual, and in no way involving any political agency, further than the general connexion then supposed to exist between episcopacy and the monarchical constitution of England—but this indeed was perhaps enough. The supposed influence of the primate pointed him out as the fittest person to plead the cause of the suffering clergy: he undertook the mission, and, in his first interviews with Cromwell, obtained a promise that the clergy should not be molested, if they would abstain from political interference. But when the primate again went to have the promise confirmed in writing, he found Cromwell in the hands of the surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. He asked the primate to sit down, saying that he would speak to him when dressed. In the mean time, he pointed to the boil and said, "If this core were out I should be quickly well." "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well," replied the primate. "Ah! so there is indeed," said the lord Protector with a sigh. After this characteristic colloquy, when the surgeon departed, and the primate proposed his errand, Cromwell cut him short with the statement that he had consulted with his council since their last interview; and they had advised against granting liberty of conscience to men whom he considered to be implacable enemies to his government—and the matter ended. The primate felt deeply wounded by the falsehood of the proceeding, and still more afflicted for the sake of the persecuted men who had committed their cause to him. He retired with a heavy heart, and shut himself up in his chamber. To the friends who came to inquire of his success, he said, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his

wickedness, for he will not continue long. The king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may."

Evelyn, in his diary, mentions some particulars of an interview with the primate a little after the last mentioned incident:—it is on many accounts worthy of being transcribed, "1655, Aug. 21. I went to Ryegate to visit Mrs Cary, at my lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery, well in repaire, but the parke much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was the property of Hen. VIII.; and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Ryegate was now y^e archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew, there was little fruite to be gathered of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was y^e Hebrew Bible; that y^e Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; but St Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; and that the 70 translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour;' that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in poperie. In conclusion, he recommended me to the study of philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wooton."

But the hour of rest was fast approaching: the measure of afflictions and the cup of trial had long been full; the career illustrious for good deeds, and labours of love, was closing in its fulness, and a large bequest of immortal works, monuments more durable than the results of conquest, completed to guide and enlighten future times. And seldom does a good man leave this scene of trial under circumstances which can be dwelt on with more full complacency.

For the last two years of his life, he was obliged by the loss of his teeth to desist from preaching, though he still continued to make occasional efforts in the pulpit, at the entreaty of his admirers and friends: and his preaching was eagerly followed to the last. One of his latest efforts was, a funeral sermon for his friend the learned Selden, who was buried in the temple.

After the afflicting result of his last mentioned communication with Cromwell, he went to Ryegate, and entered on his usual studies, having been for some time engaged in the endeavour to complete his Annals. And here he spent the remaining few weeks of his life, between the commencement of the year, and the 20th of March in the year 1656. In this interval he was visited by Dr Parr, who preached before him, and records a few of the remarks made to him after his discourse, by the primate. "I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of this world, and I now desire according to your text, *to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*; and to be with him in heaven, of which we can

have no doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith and charity, and live in the exercise of those christian graces and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, and renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts, &c."

On the 20th of March there appeared no cause for any present apprehension in the primate's health; he rose as usual, and passed the morning among his books and engaged in his wonted task. He laid aside his labour to visit a sick lady, to whom he offered the encouragements and consolations of the gospel, with more than even his wonted flow of spiritual and heavenly-minded energy. And the day passed away as usual; but at night his rest was broken by some pain, which instead of passing off as was at first hoped, grew more violent towards morning, and resisted every means employed to quiet it. He bore it with the patience of a christian; but it subdued his remaining strength, and he soon felt an increase of exhaustion, from which he knew that he could not expect to rally. On the first interval of ease, he called for the chaplain of the family to assist his last devotions, and after some time spent in earnest prayer, he solemnly addressed the family who surrounded his bed, with those impressive truths which belonged to the occasion. He concluded by thanking his kind friend and benefactress for all her care and friendship which had smoothed his path of trials and adversities so long. He then expressed a wish to be left alone, to collect his mind for the change which he felt approaching; and in this state met the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and entered upon the rest of his Lord.

The countess of Peterborough intended that the remains of her venerable friend should have a place in her family vault at Ryegate. Cromwell, whose judgment and good taste were seldom astray, in any thing nearly concerning the honour and dignity of his government, sent to countermand the preparation, and ordered that there should be a public funeral. For this a distant day was fixed, and the proceeding and ceremony appointed. On this no detail is required. On the 17th of April, twenty-seven days from his death, he was brought from Ryegate to St George's church in Southwark, where, according to order, the procession was joined by his friends; from thence he was borne to Somerset house, in the Strand, where at one o'clock, "those of the ministry and others," met and accompanied the corpse to Westminster abbey, when it was interred in the chapel. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr Bernard, of Gray's inn, formerly his chaplain, and afterwards one of his biographers. His text was in 1 Samuel xxv. 1. *And Samuel died; and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* Great crowds attended, and much respect was strongly displayed by the people.

At the close of a memoir, in which we have been led to transgress the limits of our measured space, it must be unnecessary to dwell further on the character of one whose mind is so amply delineated in all his deeds. He was in person above the middle height, with a countenance grave, dignified, and intelligent, but mild, combining in its expression the humanity of the scholar with the benevolence of the christian. Nor was the engaging promise of his appearance belied in his frank and kind conversation, which overflowed ever with the

wisdom of his intellect and the charity of his heart. Of that superiority of knowledge, which placed him, *facile princeps*, at the head of the eminent scholars of his day, his works remain to speak.

The history of his library, which was nearly the entire of his property, is not without its interest. It was his known intention to bequeath it to the university of Dublin, the nurse of his genius. But there were some strong reasons against the execution of his design, and obstacles arose which had nearly deprived the kingdom altogether of this venerable monument. The primate, considering the large family of lady Tyrrel, to whom he had given no fortune, bequeathed the books to her. A handsome price was offered for them by the king of Denmark, and cardinal Mazarin was no less liberal. Cromwell prohibited a sale so unfortunate for the honour of England, and it was not long after purchased by the Irish army to be presented to the university: here again Cromwell interposed, and the volumes were, by his order, stored in some rooms of Dublin castle. After the restoration, they were presented by the king to the university; and yet form a valuable portion of its library.

WILLIAM BEDELL.

BORN A. D. 1570.—DIED A. D. 1642.

AMIDST all the afflictions of the church, from the earliest ages to the present day, she has still had faithful witnesses to preserve, uphold, and disseminate the doctrines of Christ; and however different their sphere, contrasted their position, or distant their time, they still bear the same lineaments, are impelled or restrained by the same motives, and, however differing in natural character, they still prove that they belong to the same family, and are members of the one Head. William Bedell, the subject of our present memoir, is one of those "burning and shining lights," who for a lengthened season continued to do his Master's work here upon earth, and then joined that "noble army of martyrs," who have sealed and confirmed by their deaths all that their lives laboured to establish. The crown of martyrdom was not won to him by the fagot or the sword; but he watched and waited for it, and ultimately attained it, through a protracted period of danger and suffering, during which, it may be truly said, he "died daily;" yet death seemed still withheld, that he might, by his influence and example, strengthen and sustain the suffering band by which he was surrounded. He was born at Black-Notley, in Essex, 1570, and was descended from an ancient and respectable family. He received a classical education, and was sent to Emmanuel college, Cambridge, where he was highly respected for his learning, piety, and matured powers of mind, so that his opinion was often resorted to by his seniors in their disputes and controversies. He early became impressed with the truths of the Christian religion, and before he took upon himself the duties of a minister, he practically performed them, going about with some young college friends, in the neighbourhood of the university, where there were no Christian teachers, instructing and awakening the people "who were living without God in the world," and placing before them, in strong

colours, their awful position, and the glad tidings which he came to publish amongst them, of which they were nearly as ignorant as the more distant heathen.

After leaving the university, he removed to the town of Bury St Edmunds, in Suffolk, where he first regularly engaged in the ministry. "Not long after his settlement there," says one of his biographers, "an incident occurred which showed that he neither courted preferment nor feared unmerited displeasure. At a meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, the bishop made some proposition to which Mr Bedell could not conscientiously assent. The rest of the clergy entertained the like objections, but were unwilling to express their sentiments. Thinking, therefore, that the matters in question were too important to be silently adopted, he ventured to address the bishop, and stated his opinions with so much force of argument, and, at the same time, calmness of temper, that some of the obnoxious measures were withdrawn. When the meeting was over, the clergy gathered round him, and applauded the steps which he had taken; but he only assured them in reply, that he desired not the praises of men." He continued at Bury for many years, and was a zealous and active minister, endeavouring rather to awaken the conscience than excite the feelings, and remarkable as a preacher for the clearness and simplicity of his style, and the truth and force of his applications. He was at length appointed chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador of James at the court of Venice, having been selected as the fittest person for a situation made responsible by the critical period of the interdict. His friend and fellow-student, Mr Waddesworth, who occupied the same chambers with him in college, and had also a benefice under the bishop of Norwich, was, about the same period, unfortunately sent into Spain, and was subsequently appointed to teach the Infanta English, in the expectation of her becoming the future queen of Charles I. From this period the two friends diverged into totally different paths; Waddesworth adopting the creed of the country into which he had been transplanted, and ending his life in a monastery, while Bedell rapidly progressed in Christian knowledge, zeal, and humility, and gladly laid down his life in defence of the faith he professed. An interesting correspondence took place between the two friends on this subject, to which we cordially refer our curious readers, were it only to show the spirit of Christian love and charity with which it was conducted upon both sides.

On the occasion of Bedell's appointment, Sir Henry, writing to the earl of Salisbury, says, "I have occasion, at the present, of begging your lordship's passport and encouragement for one Mr Bedell, whom I shall be very glad to have with me in the place of chaplain, because I hear very singular commendation of his good gifts and discreet behaviour. It may therefore please your lordship, when he shall take the boldness to present himself before you, to set forward also this piece of God's service."

During his residence in this city, he formed a close intimacy and enduring friendship with Fra Paolo Sarpi, better known by the appellation of Father Paul, the official theologian, or divine of the senate, and author of the celebrated history of the councils of Trent. With

this eminent and excellent man he spent a large portion of his time, in study and religious conversation, unrestrained by any of those nominal differences that might exist between them; for Father Paul was zealously seeking for the truth, and prepared to receive it, through whatever channel it might flow. They mutually assisted each other in the study of their native languages, and frequently read together the Greek New Testament, on the different doctrinal passages of which Bedell always shed a new light, and explained them to the entire satisfaction of his friend. He afterwards confessed, with much candour, that "he had learned more of theology and practical religion from Mr Bedell, than from any other person with whom he had conversed during his whole life." He was also greatly struck with the English liturgy, which Bedell translated both into Italian and Latin, and in conjunction with many of his friends, resolved to adopt it into common use, in case their differences with the Pope (which were then at their height) should end, as they hoped, in separating them from his jurisdiction.

The origin of these differences is too well known to need discussion, and are detailed with great accuracy in the works of Father Paulo himself. We cannot, however, omit the argument made use of by cardinal Baronius to the Pope, for the purpose of proving the divine sanction that existed for his carrying death and destruction into the refractory state which had resisted his interdict, and retained two lawless friars in prison, the Pope having ordered their liberation. The cardinal stated that there had been two distinct injunctions given to St Peter, the first being, "Feed my sheep," but the second, "Arise and kill;" and that, therefore, "since he had already executed the first part of St Peter's duty, in *feeding the flock*, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but *to arise and kill*." The general ignorance of the Scriptures that prevailed, made it unnecessary for him to allude to the two distinct occasions on which these injunctions were given, as it is possible that the mass of the people knew nothing either of the prayer of Cornelius or the vision of Peter.

During Bedell's stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, came there, and formed an intimacy and friendship with him, in the course of which he communicated to him the secret of his having composed the ten books *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London. Bedell corrected for him many mistakes, both in the quotations in it, and their applications, which the archbishop's ignorance of the Greek tongue made inevitable. The brief history and melancholy fate of this prelate may be given in a few words. On the termination of the differences some years after, between the Pope and Venice, he accompanied Bedell to England, where he was received with every mark of respect and consideration. The clergy, however, at last became offended and disgusted by his overweening pretensions, and his vanity made him resent their supposed derelictions. On the promotion of Pope Gregory IV., (his former schoolfellow,) he was led to believe that the Pope intended to give him a cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs of importance. Under the mixed motives that generally influence

mankind, he yielded to the urgency and representations of Gundamor, the Spanish ambassador, hoping at once to become an instrument of reformation to the Romish church, and to forward his own views of personal aggrandizement. In an evil hour he returned to Rome, where he was at first well received, but happening to remark that cardinal Bellarmine, who wrote in opposition to him, had not refuted his arguments, a complaint was made to the Pope that he held the same opinions as formerly, and though he offered to refute those he before held, he was seized, thrown into the inquisition, never brought to trial, but privately poisoned a short time after, when his body was thrown out of a window, and his goods confiscated to the Pope. But to return to Bedell. About this period, a Jesuit, named Thomas Maria Carassa, published a work which he dedicated to the then Pope, blasphemously calling him PAVLO V. VICE DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo et Pontificiæ omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo*,* which so much shocked Bedell, that it probably recalled to his mind some of the prophetic descriptions of the Man of Sin, and on retiring

to his study, and calculating the numerical letters of the title, PAVLO V. ^{5 5 1 100 500} VICE DEO, he found it contain, by a strange coincidence, the number of the beast 666. He showed it to Sir Henry Wotton, to Father Paul, and to the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and the senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that they need not look for another." It was also published and preached through their territories; but when it came to the ears of the Pope, he caused a proclamation to be made, that Antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a great army to waste and destroy all opposers; he therefore ordered the princes of Christendom, their vassals and tenants, to arm themselves speedily, and make ready for the coming contest. The public mind was thus turned into another channel, and before facts disproved the assertion, the excitement had subsided, and the subject was forgotten.

Bedell resided for eight years in Venice, and the general estimation in which he was held may be inferred from the manner in which he is spoken of in a letter written by the eminent Diodati of Geneva, to De Mornay. It curiously happened that Diodati was afterwards the cause of his being noticed and promoted in England, where his unobtrusive merits were for many years unknown,—so often does it happen that a prophet has no honour in his own country. The letter is as follows, and was written in 1608, when the principles of the reformation had widely spread, and were zealously embraced, both in the Venetian states and the countries dependent on them. "There lately passed through this place, a secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, on his return from England to that city, from which he had been absent about two months and a half. He described to me so particularly the state of affairs, that it seemed to me as if God declared to

* To Paul V., the vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of papal omnipotence.

me, by his mouth, what he declared in a vision to St Paul at Corinth, the parallel between which city and Venice is very great.—*Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city.** This excellent person, who is grave and learned, spoke with much confidence of his hopes of some individuals, and of his expectation of most important general consequences: in sum, all is ready (to explode) and it only requires to apply the match. ‘Thus far,’ said he to me, ‘Venice is like a new world: it is the greatest consolation to find one’s self in companies and assemblies, at noblemen’s houses, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal of the truth of God, with those good men, Father Paul, Fulgentio, and Bedell, the ambassador’s chaplain. The public sermons are as good as could be preached at Geneva, and they are delivered with such earnestness, that crowds flock to hear them; and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The inquisition is kept under by a senator, who is a member of it, without whose suffrage nothing can be decided; he is always chosen from amongst the greatest adversaries of the Pope. The vehemence against the Pope and the court of Rome is greater than ever. The Jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and decried, and themselves mortally disliked. Many nobles provide themselves with tutors of the reformed religion to instruct their families; three-fourths of the nobility are warmly attached to the truth, and as these are gained over, so the rest are favourably inclined. The city is full of German artisans, who are, for the most part, protestants. My mind imagines the man of Macedonia exclaiming, ‘*Come over and help us.*’† This is the work of the Almighty.‡ Fulgentio was a divine of much eminence in Venice. When preaching on the text, *Have ye not read?* (Mat. xii. 3,) he told the people, that if Christ were now to ask the same question, all the answer they could give, would be, No; for we are forbidden to do so. Bedell also mentions, that on another occasion, when his text was the inquiry of Pilate, *What is truth?* after condemning the practice of withholding the scriptures from the people, Fulgentio told them, that as for himself, he had, after a long search, found out what was truth, and holding out a New Testament, he said that there it was, in his hand; he then put it in his pocket saying, ‘but it is a prohibited book.’”

Bedell spent much of his time in the study of Hebrew, for which purpose he secured the assistance of R. Leo, the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue in Venice. From him he learned the way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical knowledge, and in return, communicated to him the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often highly satisfied; and once in a solemn dispute, he pressed the Rabbi with such clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, that he, with several of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but by saying that their Rabbins everywhere did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the traditions of their fathers.§ Through the

* Acts xviii. 9, 10.

† Ibid. xvi. 9.

§ Burnet.

‡ Memoirs of De Mornay.

exertions of Leo he obtained the manuscript copy of the New Testament, which he afterwards gave to Emmanuel College, and which cost him its weight in silver.

When the period arrived for Mr Bedell's return to England, the parting between him and Father Paul was very affecting. The latter even thought of accompanying him there, but was prevented by the interference of the senate. They exchanged various tokens of regard, among which Father Paul gave Bedell a picture of himself, a Hebrew Psalter and Bible, in the same language, without points, besides large portions of his valuable writings in manuscript, most of which Bedell translated and got printed, both in Latin and English.

On his return to England, he established himself again at Bury St Edmunds, and shortly afterwards married Leah, the widow of a recorder of Bury, of the name of Maw, whom his biographer describes as "a person comely, virtuous, and godly." He had, by her, three sons and one daughter, two of whom died young.

In 1615, he was presented to the rectory of Horningsheath, by Sir Thomas Jermyn, who resided in the neighbourhood, and knew and appreciated his rare combination of piety, deep learning, and still deeper humility. On his coming to the then bishop of Norwich for induction, he found the fees demanded for the ceremony so enormous, that he conscientiously declined to pay more than for the writing, parchment and wax; considering that such demands partook of the nature of simony; and chose rather to relinquish the preferment than purchase a title to it by the sacrifice of principle. He accordingly left the bishop and returned home, but was sent for by him in a few days, and regularly inducted, the offensive fees being relinquished.

He remained there for twelve years, in the most zealous performance of his parochial duties, attending the sick, reclaiming the profligate, and relieving the indigent; while, at the same time, he was so successful in discovering and punishing impostors, that they shunned his parish, knowing that all they would be likely to obtain there would be disgrace and exposure. During his residence at Horningsheath, his friend Waddesworth died, and he, shortly afterwards, in 1624, published the friendly controversy which had taken place between them: the correspondence is made the more interesting by the statement of Waddesworth's son, who mentioned that Bedell's letters almost always lay open before his father; that he commanded him to thank him for the pains he had been at in writing them; he also said that he was resolved to *save one*, which seems to be explained by his carefully bringing up his son in the protestant faith; but he does not seem to have had sufficient energy, whatever may have been his convictions, to retrace his own steps. The friendly, yet fervent and uncompromising spirit, in which this christian controversy was sustained, and which terminated, unlike the generality of religious disputes, in increased regard on both sides, is, however, alike creditable to both parties.

Bedell lived almost exclusively in his parish, and devoted himself to the active duties of his profession, so that although he had published many works, he was but little personally known. When his friend Diodati came over from Geneva, and inquired for him among the members of his profession, he was greatly surprised to find a man so eminent as

Bedell, and one so prized and appreciated in a foreign country, so entirely overlooked in his own, and after many fruitless inquiries he had to give up the search. At length he "met with him by chance," says his biographer, "in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Mr. Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for." In 1626, the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, becoming vacant, the fellows of the College, acting under the advice of archbishop Usher, unanimously invited him to fill that important office, while, at the same time, they forwarded an address to the king, entreating him to lay his commands on Bedell to accept of the situation.

The king having ascertained his perfect fitness for the office, complied with the request of the primate and fellows of the college, and commanded him immediately to make arrangements for accepting it. Bedell complied with cheerfulness and alacrity, feeling confident that this new path of duty was opened to him by a higher hand, and with childlike simplicity he followed upon the course thus indicated to him. He removed to Ireland, in the first instance, alone, leaving his wife and children under the protection of her friends, until he could provide a residence for their reception. On his arrival in Dublin, he at once commenced a close and accurate study of the statutes, and established regulations of the college, resolving, with his characteristic good sense and caution, to take no step whatever respecting the existing abuses, until he had fully ascertained the legitimate grounds on which they could be reformed, and the utmost limits to which his own authority might extend. During this period of necessarily suspended action, many rash and perhaps interested persons came to the conclusion that he was incompetent to the office, and whispered abroad that, however amiable and learned he might be, he was indolent, abstracted, and totally devoid of energy and decision of character required in such a position. These insidious whispers were at length conveyed to the ear of the primate, who began to think that possibly the long period he had passed in seclusion and study, might in some degree have incapacitated him for the duties of a more practical life. His, however, was a mind incapable of forming a hasty or unjust judgment, and some months after, when Bedell returned to England for the purpose of removing his family, he having obtained some knowledge of the general prejudice that existed against him, which he even feared had slightly tinged the mind of Usher, thought seriously of resigning his new preferment, and returning to his peaceful benefice in Suffolk. He, however, about this period, received so kind a letter from the primate, that he at once resigned his English preferment, and removed with his family to Dublin. Immediately on his settlement there, he applied himself vigorously to the great work of reformation. He corrected various abuses, established new regulations, and was so firm in enforcing their performance, that it was quickly acknowledged he was of all others the most suited to fill that high and responsible office. *His* ideas of duty were higher still, and his first object was to awaken religious convictions amongst the students, and to instruct them in right principles. He

catechised the various classes once each week, and preached every Sunday, though not obliged to do so, that he might the more effectually impress and enforce the great truths which so entirely swayed his own mind, and guided every word and action. He thought so highly of the body of divinity compressed into the Church Catechism, that he divided it into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and gave such clear expositions of it, mixed with so much interesting speculative and practical matter, that many took notes of them at the time, and years after copies of them were sought for with the greatest anxiety. His sermons were remarkable for such clear and simple statements, that the youngest and most unlearned could comprehend them, while the deeply informed never failed to derive from them interest and instruction. After continuing for about two years in the performance of these anxious and arduous duties, his early discriminating and energetic friend, Sir Thomas Jermy, obtained for him a nomination to the two vacant bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, which adjoined each other, in the province of Ulster; but from the neglect and mismanagement of the preceding bishops, their revenues were in so unproductive a state, that they were scarcely capable of supporting a bishop who was resolved not to supply himself by base and indirect means, such as, at that period, were too generally resorted to.

His new course of life opened to him new sources of usefulness, and duties of a far more difficult and dangerous nature than any he had yet been called upon to perform; but his efforts rose with the exigencies, and at fifty-nine he encountered and overcame obstacles that would have seemed insuperable to any who relied on their own unassisted strength. His ideas of the duties of a bishop were of a very exalted kind, approaching, according to the statements of Burnet, the occupation of an angel, considering that he was called upon to divide his time "as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese; and, therefore, he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them; and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them."*

He found his diocese in a state of the greatest disorder and neglect, both as it concerned morals and temporalities. His revenues were exhausted by dilapidations—the most sacred things had been exposed to sale—one of his cathedrals had fallen to the ground for want of repair—and the livings were in general held by Englishmen, who did not understand the language of the country, so that the people were literally as sheep wanting a shepherd. His own letter to archbishop Laud, will, however, best explain the melancholy position of affairs, and the enormous difficulties with which he had to cope, in effecting any species of reformation.

* Burnet.

“Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

“Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the college, and my Lord Primate’s visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship’s commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by Saint Patrick, together with the bishop’s house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, which are not the tenth part of the remnant, obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate’s vicar-general; for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a-piece; and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of cattle, these late years, with their contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For my own, there are seven or eight ministers of good sufficiency; and, which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still, English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them two or three, four or more vicarages a-piece; even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, king but at the pope’s discretion.

“WILL. KILMORE AND ARDAGH.”

Kilmore, April 1st, 1630.

In correcting the numerous abuses which existed, Bedell was well aware that he must meet opposition, hinderance, and even some opprobrium; but he had previously “sat down and counted the cost,” and was therefore ready for the combat, and prepared to meet its consequences. Unlike, however, many sincere and zealous advocates of the truth who are carried on and aided through their difficult and ob-

structed course by a natural impetuosity of character, and heat of temperament, Bedell had no stimulus but Christian principle; everything was done in the spirit of meekness and Christian forbearance; for to his faith he added patience, and where influence and example could effect his object he preferred them to the exercise of his official authority. A remarkable instance of this presents itself in one of his first and most important acts, the abolishing of pluralities. Convinced that this pernicious practice was equally opposed to the vows at ordination, by which they were pledged to instruct and feed with the bread of life, the flock committed to their care, and also to the early practice of the church, he called a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon, with which he opened it, he explained to them his own views and convictions upon the subject, with a clearness and a force from which there was no appeal. He told them that he would demand no sacrifice from them that he was not prepared to make himself, and consequently that he had come to the resolution of parting with one of his bishoprics; though, as was before stated, the joint revenue was insufficient to meet his own moderate expenses. It should also be remembered that he was perfectly competent to discharge the duties of both sees; but he knew too well the importance of the sanction that example gives to precept, to lose the opportunity of thus enforcing it. He accordingly resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson, when all his clergy, with the solitary exception of the dean, followed his example, and at once laid down their pluralities.

One of Bedell's objects in so strenuously opposing pluralities, was to compel his clergy to reside in their parishes; but this was in many instances attended with great difficulty, in consequence of the reprehensible negligence of the commissioners, who had been appointed on the reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, to assign glebe-lands to the clergy: these appear to have been allotted at random; for in a large proportion of instances they were out of the parish, and frequently divided into small portions in different directions. To remedy this, the bishop, who had a portion of land in every parish, resolved to make an exchange, wherever his own was more conveniently situated for the clergyman; and he applied to Sir Thomas Wentworth, the lord-lieutenant, to have commissioners appointed, that all might be fairly and satisfactorily arranged.

Some years after his coming to the diocese, he called together a General Assembly of his clergy, and laid before them a code of regulations calculated to benefit the whole diocese, and to stimulate the spiritual efforts of the clergy. He also arranged that they should meet annually as a synod, and issue whatever decrees they should find necessary. The improvement in his diocese, and in the general conduct and demeanour of his clergy was quickly perceptible, and he was early made sensible of the necessity of it, by the observation of an Irishman, who once said to him in open court, "that the king's priests were as bad as the pope's priests," the latter being remarkable, at that period, not only for drunkenness, but every sort of profligacy. His anxiety for his clergy extended even to their temporalities; for, finding that they were subjected to enormous fees on their induction to a living, he reduced the various documents then in use into one instrument, which he wrote with his own hand.

Among the many abuses existing in the diocese, the management, or rather mismanagement, of the ecclesiastical court appears to have been the most flagrant, while the correction and remodelling of it subjected the bishop to more opposition and annoyance than any of his previous reforms. He was, however, prepared for opposition, and firm in his resolution to proceed. "He found this court," says Burnet, that sat in his name, "an entire abuse. It was managed by a chancellor that had bought his place from his predecessor, and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression; for it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about, almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony; being in effect the same abuse which gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the court of Rome, and opened the way for the reformation." After due consideration, the bishop resolved to sit as judge himself in the court that bore his name, and acted on his authority. He convened a competent number of his clergy to sit there with him, and after hearing the causes, and obtaining their advice and opinion, gave sentence. Numerous causes were thus quickly disposed of, and general satisfaction given, with the exception of the offending officers of the court. The lay chancellor brought a suit against the bishop into chancery, for invading his office, but the other bishops supported him in the step he had taken, and promised to stand by him in the contest. The bishop desired to plead his own cause, but this was not permitted, so he drew up a most able statement, but not sufficiently powerful to influence the decision of the courts. The chancellor was accordingly confirmed in his position, and the bishop cast in a hundred pounds' costs. But lord chancellor Bolton admitted afterwards to the bishop, when he accused him of having passed an unjust decree, that as his Father had left him only a registrar's place, he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the course he took had not been checked. It is probable that the hand accustomed to receive bribes was not slack in administering them; and there can be no want of charity in such a surmise, when Bolton himself so unblushingly admitted that he had perverted judgment and justice from private and personal considerations.*

The other bishops who had promised him their support, failed him in the hour of need, and even the primate told him, "the tide went so high, that he could assist him no more." The bishop, however, having put his hand to the plough, resolved not to look back; and, when he returned home, continued to sit in his courts as usual, with-

* We can readily understand the corruptness of the judge, yet doubt the sincerity of the admission. We have already, in our memoir of Usher, stated our view as to the real equity of this case, when looked on according to the analogy of our law, and the constitution of our courts; but it was a period when lax notions prevailed in every department of the administration. A refined system of law had not yet been sufficiently disentangled from notions of discretionary power; but in its applications to a rude and simple nation, there was added temptation and immunity for all abuse. The kind friend to whom we are indebted for this memoir, has rightly thought fit to put forward, without question, Bedell's own grounds of action, which are honourable to him, alike as a Christian and a man.

out receiving any molestation from the chancellor, who appointed a surrogate, to whom he gave strict orders "to be in all things observant of the bishop, and obedient to him." This same chancellor, (Mr Cook,) in speaking of him, some years after, said, "that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands." It was supposed that after the adverse termination of the trial, Cook was influenced by the authorities in Dublin to take no farther steps, for he did not even apply for the hundred pounds' costs that had been awarded him. The bishop abolished most of the fees connected with the court, and when criminals, or "scandalous persons," were brought to him to be censured, while he showed them the enormity of their offence, he conveyed his reproof with such parental tenderness, that he touched the single uncorrupted spot in the human heart,* that which is acted upon by *kindness*, and the offender frequently became a penitent. Many of the Irish priests were brought before him on those occasions, and his exhortations to them often produced subsequent results that could scarcely have been calculated on. The bishop felt great pity for the native Irish, who were in a state of the most profound darkness, and yet, from their avidity in receiving spiritual instruction, seemed actually to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, while their priests could do little more than read their offices, without understanding them; he therefore determined to direct his attention to their particular instruction, that they might be no longer "blind leaders of the blind." He was successful in many instances; and provided those, of whose conversion he was well assured, with benefices. He had also a short catechism printed both in English and Irish, with prayers and portions of scripture, for the benefit of the young and the ignorant; and was most particular that those he ordained for the ministry should understand the native language. But the object he had most at heart, of all others, was the translation of the Scriptures into Irish; and for the accomplishment of this, he secured, by the advice of the primate, the services of a person of the name of King, who had been converted many years before, and was considered the best Irish scholar of his day. He was a poet as well as a prose writer, and though seventy years of age, he entered on the undertaking with zeal and industry; and the bishop, who formed a high idea of his character and capabilities of doing good, ordained him, and gave him a benefice. Being unable to meet with any of the native Irish that understood either Greek or Hebrew, and dissatisfied with a translation from the English version, this apostolic bishop, who thought only of "spending and being spent" in his master's service, resolved on learning the Irish language himself, and became such a proficient, that he was enabled to compose a grammar for the use of other students. As the work advanced, he undertook the revision of it, and every day, after either dinner or supper, he compared a chapter of the Irish translation with the Eng-

* Chalmers.

lish, and then compared the latter with the Hebrew, and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, of which he thought very highly; and he corrected the Irish wherever he found the English translation in error, so that, in fact, it is the most perfect of the two. A few years completed the translation, and the bishop was preparing to get it printed at his own expense, when a very unexpected obstacle arose to the performance of this good work.

Some persons, interested in keeping the population of the country in a state of ignorance and barbarism, spread abroad an impression that the translator was a weak and ignorant man, and incompetent to the work; and artfully infused this impression among a high and influential circle, at the head of which were lord Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury, neither of whom were competent, from their ignorance of Irish, to put the work to the only fair test, that of comparison with originals. The consequence was the suspension of the work, and a most tyrannical abuse of power towards its unoffending translator. A young man of the name of Bailly pretended that the benefice which the bishop had given to King had lapsed, and obtained a broad seal for it, while the real incumbent was ejected, fined, and imprisoned. The bishop was indignant at such oppressive and unjustifiable proceedings, and expressed his opinion of them in a letter to the lord deputy, of which a copy has been preserved. The manuscript was, however, providentially preserved from the general devastation, and was printed many years afterwards at the expense of the Hon. Robert Boyle. The interest the Irish take in hearing the glad tidings in their native language is not less at the present day than it was in that day when Mr. Cloogy, the bishop's chaplain, says, "I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament, in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people in the captivity, when Ezra read the law unto them."

The bishop, in the interval that occurred before the rebellion, translated into the Irish language, and printed in his own press, some of Leo's sermons, three of the homilies on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, with a new edition of his catechism in English and Irish.

The bishop preached twice every Sunday, and when he entered the church, it was evident, from his manner, that he remembered the counsel of the preacher: "keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God." Before the evening sermon he regularly catechized the younger part of the congregation. His voice is described as having been "low and mournful, the gravity of his countenance and behaviour secured attention, and the instructions which he delivered were excellent and spiritual."

The bishop's domestic habits and conduct were consistent with his public profession, and his devotional exercises, both in private and in his family, were frequent, fervent, and exalted. He prayed with his family three times in the day; early in the morning, before dinner, and after supper; and he never rose from dinner or supper without having a chapter read, which he often expounded. On Sundays, about the observance of which he was very strict, considering "the obligation of the Sabbath moral and perpetual," he was in the habit of reviewing the subjects of his sermons when retired amongst his family, and concluded the day with a psalm of thanksgiving, and with prayer.

He considered forms merely as the scaffolding that supported the building, and consequently most necessary; but in his estimation "Christianity was not so much a system of opinions, as a divine principle renewing and transforming the heart and life;" and he often repeated the saying of Augustine, "I look for fruit, not leaves." He wrote numerous paraphrases and expositions of scripture, which, along with his journal, and a large mass of papers, were lost during the rebellion, while a valuable Hebrew manuscript was preserved by the exertions of one of his Irish converts, and is at present in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is a remarkable circumstance that but one of the priests who had conformed to the protestant religion under Bedell's instruction, returned to their ancient faith, and *that one* turned out so infamous a character, that he plainly showed that he was totally devoid of all religion. The rest shared with Bedell the multiplied horrors of the rebellion of 1641, which was guided and stimulated by the fanatic barbarity of the Spanish priests, who would be satisfied with nothing less than a general massacre, and a universal extirpation of the protestants. With these atrocities raging round him, the bishop was still left unmolested. "There seemed," says Burnet, "to be a secret guard set about his house; for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks." He goes on to say that the bishop's house was in no condition to make any resistance, and yet his neighbours, all around, fled to him for shelter and safety. He shared everything he had with them; so that like the primitive Christians, they had all things in common; "and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; they spent their time in prayers and fastings, which last was likely now to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power that stills the raging of the seas and the tumult of the people; they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance."* Not only his own house, but the out-buildings, the church and church-yard, were full of people, who had been living in affluence, and were now glad of a heap of straw to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature. The bishop continued to sustain their sinking courage, calling upon them to commit their way unto the Lord, and to trust in Him.

Some of the more moderate of the rebels, in the county of Cavan, seeing most of their expected aids fail them, and that although many of their commanders were good, yet that the majority of their soldiery were at once cruel and cowardly, and consequently incapable of bringing about the day of independence and restitution that they dreamed of, began to fear that the days of retribution might follow, and came to the

* Burnet.

bishop, entreating him to interpose for them with the lords-justices, and to write a petition, to be signed by themselves, entreating clemency, and the removal of their grievances, and promising to make every possible reparation for the past, and for the outrages of the lower orders. The bishop complied; but the address, though admirably worded, produced no effect on the authorities to whom it was addressed.

About this period, Dr. Swiney, the titular bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan. The bishop was intimate with his brother, whom he had been the means of converting, and ultimately provided for, besides keeping him for a long time at his own house as an inmate. Dr. Swiney told the bishop that he would go and live at his house, for the purpose of protecting him, if he wished it; but this the bishop declined in a courteous letter, which was written in the purest Latin.

During this season of calamity the bishop seemed to live for every one but himself. He was applied to for advice and instruction by Mrs. Dillon, the wife of a son of lord Roscommon's, who was a protestant, and very piously disposed; but who had been inveigled into a marriage with Mr. Dillon, under the assurance that he professed the same faith. So far from this he was a bigoted member of the church of Rome, and was also engaged in the present rebellion. He, in addition, insisted in bringing up his own children in the Roman catholic faith, but did not interfere with her religion, or that of her children by her first marriage.

The bishop wrote her a long and consoling letter, containing an epitome of christian duty, with its exalted privileges, and consoling hopes, with advice suited to her peculiar position, wise, moderate, and uncompromising.

The bishop remained unmolested from the 23d of October, the first day of the breaking out of the rebellion, until the 18th of December, when he received a command from the rebels to send away the outcasts he had so long sheltered and comforted. This he of course refused to do; and the rebels then assured him, that much as they loved and respected him (more indeed than all the English whom they had ever seen), they would yet be compelled, in compliance with the strict orders of the council at Kilkenny, to remove him from his house, to which he answered in the language of David—"Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto him; the will of the Lord be done."

He was accordingly seized with his two sons, and Mr. Cloogy his chaplain, and taken to the ruined castle of Lochoughtier, the only place of strength in the county. It was built on a small island about a musket-shot from the shore, while only one small tower remained of the building. The water also had gained so much upon the island, that there was only about a foot of dry land surrounding the tower. They allowed the prisoners to take nothing away with them, while Dr. Swiney took possession of all that belonged to the bishop, and quickly converted that house, which might almost be called holy, having been so long sanctified by prayer, into a scene of riot, and the most debasing drunkenness, and on the following Sunday he performed mass in the church. They placed the bishop, who was near seventy, on horseback, but the rest had to proceed on foot, and on their arrival at this miserable habitation, all but the bishop were put into irons. The place was considered one of some strength and importance, and had been intrusted

to the care of Mr. Cullum, who had a large allowance from the government, for keeping it supplied as a magazine with powder, and weapons of defence; but he neglected his charge, and was one of the first captives placed there, when the rebels had converted it into a prison. The situation was very bare, and much exposed to a winter unusually severe, while the building was completely open to the weather. The gentle conduct of his keepers, as bishop Burnet well expresses it, seemed like a second stopping of the lions' mouths. The good old bishop, according to the same writer, took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle of the day, which set before them the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. The following day his son preached on the last words of saint Stephen. While they were endeavouring to keep their minds in the holy and prepared state of men waiting for their Master's coming, an unexpected circumstance occurred which was the means of removing them out of their miserable captivity. This circumstance was a sally made by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, afterwards Lord Grenard, with a body of Scots, from some houses in which they were closely besieged, and their provisions being exhausted, they preferred slaughter in the field, to famine. The attempt was at once unexpected and successful: they took some of the rebel leaders, killed others, and dispersed the rest. The result of this was their immediately demanding that the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Cloogy, should be exchanged for their prisoners, and these latter being persons of importance, the demand was complied with. On the 7th of January, the prisoners on both sides were liberated, but the Irish only performed half their compact, as they promised to allow the bishop and his family to remove to Dublin, but hoping to secure additional advantages by keeping him in their power, they would not permit him to leave the county. He accordingly removed to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O'Shereden, to whom some respect was shown, in consequence of his Irish extraction, though he had conformed to the protestant religion, and married an English woman. He was a man of kind disposition, and strict principle, and aided many in their extremity.

During this last month of the bishop's life, notwithstanding his declining strength, he each Sunday either read the prayers and lessons, or preached. On the 23d of the month, he preached from the 71st psalm, particularly dwelling on these words, "O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous work; now also when I am old and gray-headed, forsake me not." On the succeeding Sunday, he repeated again and again the following verse, which occurred in the psalms for the day, "Send down thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of the great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth talketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood." The intense earnestness with which he repeated it,

but too plainly showed what was passing in his mind, and his family were impressed as if by an omen, and could not restrain their tears. On the next day he became alarmingly ill, and on the following, ague, the natural consequence of his long exposure to damp, set in. As he grew worse he called his sons and their wives around him, and addressed them at intervals in appropriate terms.

His speech failed shortly after, and he slumbered with little intermission, appearing composed and happy to the last. He died on the night of the 7th of February, the day of the month on which he was delivered from his captivity at Lockwater, or Lough-outre, as it is elsewhere called.

He requested to be laid next to his wife, who had been buried in the remotest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore. The *titular* bishop having taken possession of the cathedral, it became necessary to get his permission. The chief of the rebels gathered his forces together, and accompanied the body from Mr. O'Shereden's to the church-yard of Kilmore with great solemnity, firing a volley of shot over his grave, and some of the better instructed among them exclaiming in Latin, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*;"—May the last of the English rest in peace! They had often said, as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

"Thus lived and died," says Burnet, "this excellent bishop, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did show themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have."

His judgment and memory were very extraordinary, and continued unimpaired to the last. He corresponded with many of the first divines of the age, not only in England, but on the continent, and wrote in Latin with great elegance and correctness. He was free of access, and easy in conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; his thoughts and heart being fixed above; and whatever conversation occurred, he generally gave it a useful and instructive direction. He was as remarkable for his sincerity and faithfulness in giving reproof, as for his mildness and moderation in receiving it, however undeserved.

He was tall and graceful in his person; and there was an elevation in his countenance and demeanour that discovered what was within, and created an awe and veneration for him. His style was like his mind,—clear, elevated, and correct, but plain and simple, despising superfluous ornament, especially on subjects of such solemn import as the salvation of souls.

His deportment was serious and unaffected; and one of his biographers, in speaking of his dress, says, "His habit was grave; in a long stuff gown, not costly, but comely; his stockings woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before." His grey hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour, and he wore a long beard, according to the general custom of the time. His strength and health were remarkably good until within a few years of his death, and even

after he left Lockwater, he surprised his family by the bodily exertion he was enabled to make.

His recreations were few and simple; consisting chiefly of walking, and digging in his garden, in which he took great interest, having acquired much skill in the management of plants during his residence in Italy. The furniture of his house was plain, but suitable to his situation, and his table was well covered, and generally well attended with guests; but they were chiefly of those who could make him no return, and he lived amongst his clergy as if they had been his brethren. His humility was great, and finely contrasted with his undaunted firmness, whenever principle was involved, or self-interest to be sacrificed. He selected an ingenious device to express and increase this humility. It was a flaming crucible, with the following motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin;" the word in Hebrew that signifies tin being *Bedel*. He directed in his will that his tombstone should bear this simple inscription:—"Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis," signifying that his body was committed in trust to the earth, till the time arrived when she should give up her dead.

JOHN BRAMHAL, PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

CONSECRATED A.D. 1634.—DIED A.D. 1663.

JOHN BRAMHAL was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire: he was born in Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in 1593. He received his education at the university of Cambridge, from whence, after taking his degree of A.M., he obtained a benefice in Yorkshire. A controversy with some Jesuits upon the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, terminated so as to ascertain his being possessed of high logical powers: and thus recommended, he was appointed chaplain to Matthews archbishop of York, whose friendship he soon gained, by his sterling virtues and sound practical ability. By this prelate he was appointed a prebendary of York and Rippón. In this station his character became generally known, and obtained a high influence among the aristocracy of his county; and becoming known to Sir Thomas Wentworth, then president of York, he was selected to be his chaplain. In 1633, there was a regal visitation in Ireland, held by his patron, with whom he came over and acted as one of the chief directors of the proceedings. He resigned his English preferments by the desire of Wentworth, and by his influence and recommendation was soon after appointed to the see of Derry; and was consecrated in the chapel of Dublin castle, on May 26th, 1634, by Usher and Dopping, with the bishops of Down and Cork. He had been recommended to the sagacious Wentworth, by his eminent attainments and talents for the conduct of affairs, at a period when the unsettled state of the kingdom, both in church and state, made such attainments more than usually desirable. In addition to his extensive theological and academical acquirements, Bramhal was also known to have obtained an accurate

knowledge of English law, a fact indicative of the industry of his disposition, and the solidity of his understanding.

In Ireland he quickly launched into a course of useful activity. There he found indeed ample scope for the hand of correction and reformation. Wentworth's visitation had exposed the ruinous state of the church, which was, in every respect, in the lowest condition consistent with existence: its revenues were insufficient for the sustenance of the clergy; and its condition in point of doctrine and discipline had fallen into an entire derangement. Bramhal at once set himself, with all the vigour of his character, to the reform of these defects, so fatal to the maintenance of religion, and no less so to the progress of civil prosperity in this kingdom.

In 1635, there was a meeting of parliament, in which he exerted himself, in conjunction with the lord-lieutenant, to repair the ruins of the church. An act was passed for the execution of pious uses. Another to confirm leases of certain lands made by the bishops of Armagh and other prelates, and empowering them to make leases for sixty years of such lands within five years. Another was passed for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical. Another act was passed to facilitate the restitution of impropriations, tithes, &c., with provisions restraining alienations of such rights. In the course of the following four years, this activity of Bramhal, with the aid of these legal provisions, effected considerable improvements in the external condition of the church: availing himself of the law, and exerting such means as could be made available, he recovered between thirty and forty thousand pounds, *per annum*, of its income.

But his exertions were in nothing more successfully exerted for the church, than in the sharp struggle, which, at the same time took place, to restore the suspended uniformity of the two national churches. For this object there were many strong motives to be found in the then existing political state of the two kingdoms. The tremendous struggle of the civil wars was then developing in the distance; and the more tremendous element of religious dissent, though, not yet disclosing any thing of its real power as a principle of revolution, had begun so early as the previous reign, to make itself sufficiently sensible in the balance of opposing powers, to have become an object of earnest and anxious attention in the view of all thoughtful and observant politicians. The church of Ireland had received a tinge of the Calvinistic spirit, which had then presented itself, in a form opposed to the principles of the episcopal church of England, and was feared by the court, and the court party also, as inconsistent with the principles of monarchical government then held. The puritans were becoming already formidable in England, and it was reasonably feared, that if their influence should increase, all classes of Christians who concurred with them in general views of doctrine or discipline, would eventually be found to make common cause with them against the crown; and such, indeed, afterwards turned out to be the actual fact. These considerations, then, sufficiently apparent, had a prevailing weight in the policy of Charles, and of the sagacious Wentworth. Unquestionably, reasons of a still more influential description were not without their due weight:

both the king and his lieutenant were men susceptible of a strong tinge of religious notions; and it is not necessary to point out those which must then have pressed strongly on the heart of every Christian member of the episcopal church. To every consistent member of this church, there were questions of far higher interest than those paltry considerations of nationality, which engross the narrow scope of popular opinion, and cloud the intellect of the partisan; it was obvious, that the adhesion of the Irish church, to the uniform state of the English, was not only an accession of strength to the whole; but, as matters then stood, essential to the reformation, and even the safety, of the church. The disunion of the Irish church, like that of any smaller and less matured system comprising human principles of conduct and feeling from a larger and more matured system, with which it has such a connexion as subsists between the two countries, is not unlike that independence, which children would willingly gain, from the control of their parents: in all such cases the premature arrogation of self-government is sure to be maintained by every deviation from the course of prudence and discretion, that pride, passion, and the natural combativeness of human nature, can suggest. There are, it is true, abundant grounds of exception to this general rule; but, at that time, such grounds had no existence in a country, in all things characteristically governed by party feeling, and at that time especially, subject to this and all other deleterious influences, from the deficiency of those counteracting processes which belong to knowledge and civilization. Our church could only attain to a healthy state, and preserve its vitality by that incorporate vigour and regulated action, to be attained by a union like that then designed, and against which, there was no objection in principle; governed by English bishops, and ostensibly agreeing in forms of worship, doctrine, and church government, the same in all essentials that have any practical importance, the Irish church had fallen into the utmost irregularity in these respects, and having in itself no sanatory principle, might be restored but could not be impaired by such a connexion.

We have already had occasion to state the change which had been some time before effected in the form of the Irish church, by the substantial adoption of the articles of Lambeth. We are now, at the distance of twenty years from that incident, to relate the re-adoption of the articles and canons of the English church, a course advised by Bishop Bramhal, and violently resisted by many other influential members of the convocation. The plan of proceeding devised for the occasion, appears from a letter from Laud to Strafford, to have been this, that the articles of the church of England should be received *ipsissimis verbis*, and leave the other articles unnoticed, on the obvious principle of the statute law, that such a silence would amount to a virtual annulment. The propriety of this course was made clear enough from the justly anticipated risk of opposition. Such indeed, when the matter was first moved, seems to have been the suggestion of Usher himself, if we rightly interpret a passage in one of Strafford's letters to Laud, in which a way was "propounded by my lord Primate, how to bring on this clergy the articles of England, and silence those of Ireland, without noise as it were, *aliud agens*." Usher, however,

retracted; from what influence it is not now easy to ascertain farther than conjecture; but of his dislike to the proposed alteration there is no doubt. His change of opinion was expressed, and awakened the suspicions of Strafford; but he was at the moment too heavily encumbered with the pressing hurry of parliament, to interfere; and the convocation in which the proposal was introduced proceeded in its own way: what this was, and its likely result, may best be told in the words of the same letter: "At length I got a little time and that most happily too; I informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; that they did proceed in that committee, without at all conferring with their bishops, that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others, they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication," &c.

The indignation of Strafford will easily be conceived; he at once summoned before him the chairman of the committee who was desired to bring with him the book of canons to which the above marks were annexed, with the draught of the canons which they had drawn up to present the same evening in the house; and having expressed his strong disapprobation, he peremptorily forbade the presentation of the report, till further notice. He then convened a meeting composed of Usher, Bramhal, and other bishops, before whom the committee had also been summoned to attend. In this assembly he sternly rebuked them for the whole of the proceedings. He then directed the prolocutor of their house, who was present by his desire, that he should put no question in the house, touching the receiving or not the articles of the church of Ireland; but that he should simply put the question for the allowing and receiving the articles of the church of England, "barely content, or not content."

Usher was desired to frame the canon for this purpose; but having done so, Wentworth, not contented with his draft, drew up another himself and sent it to Usher, who soon came to tell him that he feared it could never pass in that form. But Strafford, whose suspicions as to the primate's good-will, on the occasion, had been strongly excited, announced his determination to put it to the vote as it stood; and forthwith sent it to the prolocutor. This was the first canon of the convocation, and declaratory of the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, in the following form: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he makes a public recantation of his error." By this canon, the thirty-

nine articles were adopted; but the natural question arose among the clergy—on whose part, in general, there remained a strong leaning in favour of the former articles—whether they were to be regarded as abolished or not. Some conceived that, by the new canon, they who should subscribe would only thereby declare their agreement with the doctrines of the English church, while the former still continued in force. Others, thinking more precisely, saw that the Irish articles were annulled by the canon. And it cannot but be admitted, that a recent enactment, of which the provisions were in direct contrariety to the previous law on the same points, must needs be considered as a virtual repeal. On points of coincidence, the former provisions would be merely superseded; and the question can only properly arise on points unaffected by the new law. Such must have been the decision, had the case been referred to judicial consideration; but in such a question relative to an entire system of fundamental provisions, embodying, in fact, the constitution of a church, there would seem to be a question of fitness antecedent to any such considerations. A church intending to unite itself with another, by the reception of its symbols and forms, must be referred to the design of such an act; and thus the maintenance of its ancient frame must be regarded as a plain absurdity, and wholly inconsistent with the object. Usher, indeed, with an inconsistency which we can but imperfectly account for, by allowing for the partiality of parentage—for the tenets of Usher are not represented by the Irish articles—considered that the English articles were only received subject to the construction they might receive from the Irish, and for the purpose “of manifesting our agreement with the church of England.” For some time after, the primate and several of the bishops required subscriptions to both sets of articles; but it was not without strong doubts of the legitimacy of such a procedure, an application was made to the lord-deputy for consent to re-enact the Irish articles, which he refused. Most of the bishops, however, adopted a course more in unison with the intent of Bramhal and the government. And in the troubles, which immediately after set in, the matter was dropped, and the thirty-nine articles have ever since been received without any question, as those of the united church of England and Ireland.

A similar effort was made with respect to the canons, but resisted by the primate, on the ground that the Irish church would thus be reduced to an entire dependence on the English; to prevent which the good primate proposed that, in this respect, some differences should be maintained, to preserve independence in that church of which he was the ecclesiastical head. Such a reason was consistent with the patriotism of Usher, and the no less respectable corporate feeling which is a main preserving principle of public institutions: but it was little consistent with a more enlarged view of the true interests of Ireland, which has in nothing suffered more than from its high pitch of nationality, maintained by distinctions, of which most, arising from the state of things, could not be removed. In thus excepting against the primate’s reason, we may say, *en parenthese*, that eventually, this slight distinction between the two churches has been of service to religion in this island. But there were indeed better reasons for differences in the canons of

the churches than the one put foremost by Usher; and these, fortunately, were alone operative in the actual arrangement. It is, however, mentioned by Carte, that "abundance of the members were puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of canons extracted out of the English, which was offered to their judgment and approbation; particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the ornaments used therein; the qualifications for holy order, for benefices and pluralities, the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription."

Notwithstanding these and such objections, it was agreed to construct a body of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions for the Irish church, on the frame of those of England, by adopting such as might be deemed unobjectionable, and adding such as the special circumstances of Ireland might seem to require. The execution of this arrangement was committed to Bramhal, who drew up the Irish canons to the number of one hundred. These were passed in the convocation, and received the king's assent. The differences between those and the canons of the English church have been noticed, in a careful comparison, in a learned work by a late prelate, to whom the Irish church is variously indebted for works of great practical utility, to which we need only here refer.

As the puritans became ascendant in England, and obtained the full possession of the powers of government, the Irish parliament followed the example of the long parliament in England, and became the active instrument of rebellion and oppression. Their party in Ireland felt the advantage of the juncture, and resolved not to be wanting to the occasion: a petition against the bishops of the north, partly false—and what was not false, unjust—was got up, and received by parliament complacently. Against the active and uncompromising Bramhal, the especial enmity of the puritan party was directed: he was impeached, together with the chief justice, the chancellor, and Sir G. Radcliffe, by Sir Bryan O'Neill. The supporters of the charge were powerful and confident; and Bramhal's friends urged that he should keep himself aloof; but the firmness of the bishop's character made him resolve to meet the vexatious charges, which, in truth, had no object but a pretext for his destruction. He came to town and appeared in his place in the house of lords. He was immediately arrested, and committed to prison. The record of his merits and sufferings on this occasion has been perpetuated by the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor:—"When the numerous army of vexed people heaped up catalogues of accusations—when the parliament of Ireland imitated the violent proceedings of the disordered English—when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences—when petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power—when there were about two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth—when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations—yet then, he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, hemmed in with enemies, and covered

with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence; and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced.* Such is the eloquent, but not exaggerated, account which Taylor has given, of the most truly illustrious period in the life of this eminent prelate. He winds up his brief and nervous detail, by the remark, that his enemies having failed to make good any particular case against Bramhal, had recourse to the common subterfuge of democratic persecution, and attacked him with vague and general accusations; or, in the words of Taylor, "They were forced to leave their muster-rolls, and decline the particulars, and fall to their *εν μεγά*, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws, the device by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell;" a device which, assuredly, in Bramhal's case, as in those of Laud and Wentworth, betrays, in the utter dishonesty of the pretence, a sanguinary premeditation to remove persons obnoxious by their virtue and principles. The robber as fitly might justify his vocation on the public roads, by pretending to maintain the laws of property, as the puritan parliament affect to vindicate any law but the will of an armed democracy. To these notices we may add the bishop's own account, in a letter to the primate:—"It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me, to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort, in this my great affliction which has befallen me, for my zeal to the service of his majesty, and the good of this church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and impropriations to the crown, and to increase the revenue of the church in a fair, just way, always with the consent of the parties, which did ever use to take away errors.

"But now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason, and law. The scale must needs yield when weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to what pass many bishopricks were brought, some to 100 per annum, some 50, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to 5 marks, as Cloyne, and Kilmaeduaugh. How in some dioceses as in Frens and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at £2, £3, £4, or £5 per annum, for a long time, three lives or a hundred years. How the Chantries of Ardee, Dundalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents.

"In all this my part was only labour and expence: but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop men's mouths; but I challenge all the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or church preferments. I fly to your grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable, &c. &c."

* Quoted from Mant's History of the Irish Church.

In the reply of Usher, among other things, it is mentioned, "my lord Strafford, the night before his suffering, (which was most christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*) sent me to the king, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you and of the other two lords that are in the same pressure." Eventually the king sent over his commands for the deliverance of the bishop, and he was soon after liberated.

The Irish rebellion now shortly set in; its deplorable consequences were not confined to any sect or class; but however they may have commenced in causes already sufficiently dwelt on, rapidly spread and involved alike the innocent and guilty in their prolonged course of terror, suffering, and destruction. Among the sufferers, it was least of all to be reckoned that Bramhal should escape his share. The miscreant O'Neile, whose character was an equal compound of madness and atrocity, made an effort for his destruction: Bramhal, however, came off with the loss of some personal property in the attack, the plunder of his carriages, and escaped into England, where he bravely and faithfully encountered many dangers scarcely less imminent, by his adherence to the king.

He visited this country again under the Commonwealth, and narrowly escaped being seized and delivered up at the revolt of Cork: on this occasion Cromwell is said to have strongly expressed his vexation, and said that he would have given a liberal reward for the apprehension of that "Irish Canterbury."* After some other misadventures, he again took the wise part of escaping into England, and was on the passage saved from his enemies, by a providential change of wind, which baffled the pursuit of two parliamentary ships, by which the vessel in which he sailed was chased. Finding no refuge in England, he was presently driven to the shift of travelling, and formed the somewhat unaccountable and rash design of a visit to Spain. But on his arrival in that country he received a seasonable warning: at an inn upon the road, his surprise was great at finding himself recognised by the hostess, who, on looking at his face, at once called him by his name. On being questioned by the bishop, the woman showed him his picture, and gave him the startling information, that many copies of it had been sent over with orders for his arrest and committal to the Inquisition. Her husband, she added, was under orders to that effect, and would not fail to execute them, should he discover him. It may be presumed, that the bishop was not slow to depart. On this incident doubts have been raised; with the grounds of the particular doubts we do not concur. But we have no very great confidence in any part of the narrative: we cannot admit the doubt that his parliamentary enemies would be active to get rid of the "Irish Canterbury" by any means, and we can as little doubt the convenient subserviency to such a purpose, of that most revolting and execrable of human institutions, the Spanish Inquisition: but we should most doubt that the sagacious intelligence of Bramhal would have walked heedless into so formidable a trap, without some motive more adequate than has been stated.

* Harris.

At this fearful period of calamity and reverse, when few clergy or prelates of the English and Irish church escaped the license of plunder, and the rapacity of unhallowed power; and Bramhal, like most of his brethren, was narrowly struggling on the verge of utter destitution, he was so fortunate as to receive a debt of £700, from some person to whom he had lent the sum in better times. As he was circumstanced, this was, indeed, a great and signal mercy, which he thankfully received, and gratefully disposed of, not only for his own relief, but that of other sufferers of his forlorn and persecuted church, and faithful loyalists, "to whom even of his penury he distributed so liberally, that the blessing of such as were ready to perish fell upon him."*

But Bramhal was reserved for better times; and as he had been tried and found faithful in the season of a fiery trial, so he was to be rewarded by the station for which he had been thus severely approved.

"At this period," writes bishop Mant, "the church of Ireland had preserved only eight of her former bishops; Bramhal of Derry; John Lesly of Raphoe; Henry Lesly of Down and Cavan; Maxwell of Kilmore; Baily of Clonfert; Williams of Ossory; Jones of Clogher; and Fulwar of Ardfert.—Of these, the bishop of Derry, in particular, was well-known, and highly esteemed for his previous ecclesiastical services, so that the general sense of the church and of the kingdom concurred with the judgment of the government, which made an early selection of him for the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy and metropolitan dignity of all Ireland, to which he was nominated in August 1660, and formally appointed on the 18th of January, 1661."† The appointment of so many new bishops as such a state of things demanded was for a time the rallying point of party and sectarian excitement: the desolate condition of the Irish church had raised the strong hopes of its enemies of every persuasion, that it could hardly be restored: and above all, at the present moment the expectation was, that the sees would not be filled. There was some difficulty on the part of government, arising from the want of the great seal, for the execution of the patents; but the marquess of Ormonde saw the strong expediency of putting an end to party speculation and to the propagation of the adverse feeling, by expediting the nomination which he advised to have made out under the king's signet. On the opposite side, addresses were sent up from numerous protestants, chiefly the leaven of the Cromwellian soldiers, to petition against bishops, and that their spiritual interests might remain "under the charge of the godly ministers of the gospel, who had so long laboured among them." The strength of this party was, however, not of a substantial or permanent character, as it lay almost entirely in the officers of the army, who were in fact only kept together in a state of organization by the want of money to pay their arrears. By these, or rather by their principal commanders, Sir T. Stanley, &c., the petitions were sent round for signatures, which were obtained with the ordinary facility of that spurious expression of popular sentiment. The officers had nevertheless been generally so free in their language, that there were few of

* Mant from Vesey's life of Bramhal.

† Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

them altogether beyond the reach of being called to account for seditious and disloyal expressions: of this circumstance Sir Charles Coote took advantage for the purpose of intimidating the most violent of them, and it is stated that they were thus led to desist.*

Yet the intrigues thus defeated, would, at this time, have been of slight comparative moment, had there not been persons of high rank and weight secretly concerned in impeding the re-edification of the Irish church. Such persons could not without danger commit themselves to proceedings which might, without wrong, be interpreted into disaffection to the crown at a moment when such a charge would be most unsafe. They felt themselves therefore, compelled, silently to allow the appointment of the bishops; but it was another thing and subject to no dangerous construction, to interfere with their temporalities, and to resist in every way the restoration of church possessions. Under the pretence of urging other interests, they endeavoured to obtain the insertion in the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, of a clause to withhold all improvements of ecclesiastical rents made during the government of the earl of Strafford—improvements mainly attributable to the wisdom and energy of Bramhal. They were now attacked on the pretence that they had been made at the council table, which had no authority for such acts.

To counteract this intrigue, Bramhal, now raised to the head of the Irish church, convened the other eight bishops in Dublin, in November, 1660, when they agreed upon an address, in which they represented to king Charles, "that it never was the intention of his grandfather, that one single tenant, who had no need, and was of no use to the church, should enjoy a greater yearly revenue out of his royal bounty than the see itself, and the succession of pastors; yet this was the case till the time of the earl of Strafford, through whose sides the church was now attacked, and in danger of suffering. That they were ready to demonstrate, that the council table in Ireland had been ever esteemed and used as the proper judicature for such causes, throughout the last two reigns, and so upwards throughout all ages since the conquest. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; the revenues of Irish bishops, depending much on the rules of plantation—and rules of plantation being only cognoscible at the council board." Having further extended the application of this principle, the petition went on to state the consequences, which they showed to be the entire beggary of the sees; and craved that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the church, until at least they might be heard in its defence. This petition was presented by the marquess of Ormonde, and received, through him, a favourable answer from the king, "that he would, by all the ways and means in his power, preserve their rights and those of the church of Ireland, so far as by law and justice he might, &c., &c." With the king's letter the marquess wrote to the primate, assuring him of his own zealous co-operation. The good offices of the marquess were indeed prompt and effectual, and, through his zealous exertion, the king soon restored the temporalities of the Irish church

* Carte, ii. 209.

to the full extent of their possessions in 1641. He also issued his royal mandate to the primate for the consecration of the new bishops nominated to the vacant sees. Accordingly, two archbishops and ten suffragans were, on the 27th of January, 1661, consecrated in St Patrick's cathedral, by the primate, assisted by four other bishops; the consecration sermon being preached by Jeremy Taylor. And, not often in the history of churches has there occurred an occasion so suited to call forth the higher powers of that illustrious preacher, than on that occasion which witnessed the restoration of the sacred edifice of the church from the dust and ashes in which it had been cast down by cupidity and fanaticism; and the consecration to that sacred office of twelve men, who had, during these dark and dreadful years of trial and dismay, braved all the terrors and sufferings of persecution for her sake, and now stood up in their white robes, like those "which came out of great tribulation," to stand before their Master's throne and serve him in his temple. Bishop Mant, who gives a brief but full detail of the proceedings of this day, closes his account with the following observation, which we here extract:—"The consecration, at the same time, and by imposition of the same hands of twelve Christian bishops, two of the number being of metropolitan eminence, to their apostolical superintendence of the church of Christ, is an event probably without a parallel in the church." The event and its consequence, with reference to the illustrious primate engaged in the consecration, is thus noticed by bishop Taylor, in his sermon preached at the funeral of archbishop Bramhal, in the year 1663:—

"There are great things spoken of his predecessor St Patrick, that he founded 700 churches and religious convents, that he ordained 5000 priests, and with his own hands consecrated 350 bishops. How true the story is I know not, but we were all witnesses that the late primate whose memory we celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches of Ireland; and was greatly instrumental in the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his antecessors."

We cannot, consistently with the popular design of this work, here enter, in all the detail to which we might otherwise be inclined, upon a view of the position in which our church now stood, after many trying vicissitudes again settled on a strong basis, against a sea of troubles which continued and continues to beat against her sacred ramparts. She was yet surrounded on every side by jealousy, enmity, and cupidity; and her many and various enemies, though beaten down by the result of the long struggle which had steeped the land in woe and murder for so many years, still retained their hate, and, though they did not endanger her existence, exposed her to many trials, and much abridged her usefulness. On this general state of things we shall at a further period venture some reflections, which might here carry us further than is our desire from the direct purpose of this memoir.

Among the difficulties to which the bishops were now exposed, was that arising from the number of their clergy who had been admitted from

the presbyterian church, and who, therefore, had not received ordination according to the canons of the church, as it now stood. To these men in general, there was personally no objection; but it was justly decided by Bramhal and the other bishops, that the canons of the church must be adhered to. A departure from order is unquestionably inconsistent with that inviolability on which the existence of institutions is (to all human contemplation,) dependent. The difficulty was indeed considerable: the necessity of a strict adherence to the laws of an institution is not always sensible to the popular eye; it is easier to see the evil or the hardship when a good preacher and a worthy minister of the gospel stands questioned on a seeming point of form, than to comprehend the vital necessity of preserving inviolate the order and form of a sacred institution. The bishops were, perhaps, becomingly indifferent as to the foam and "salt surf weeds" of popular opinion; but they felt as men the hardship to the man, and as prelates the loss to the church. The course to be pursued was nice and difficult, for it was a peremptory necessity in such cases, that the minister should receive episcopal ordination: such, by a clause in the act of uniformity was the law; nor could the bishop depart from it for any consideration of expediency, without an abandonment of the sacred obligations of his office. Under these circumstances, the conduct of Bramhal displayed the prudence, firmness, and kindness of his nature; "when the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late power. He told them they were no legal titles; but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction, which they humbly acknowledged, and entreated his lordship to do. But desiring to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some presbyterian classes, which, he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the church. Whereupon the question immediately arose 'are we not ministers of the gospel?'" To this Bramhal replied that such was not the question, and explained the essential distinction between an objection on the ground of a positive disqualification for the ministry, and one on that of not being qualified to be functionaries of the church. He pointed out the important fact that the defect of their orders was such as to vitiate the title of their temporal rights, and that they could not legally sue for their tithes. Without disputing their sacred character or their spiritual qualification, he insisted on the necessity of guarding against schism and of the preservation of order. To his arguments all the more reasonable gave their assent, and complied with the law by receiving ordination according to the form prescribed by the canons of the church, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In the letters of orders given on this occasion, there was introduced the following explanatory form. "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo suppletentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus*

suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos asseverantur: in cujus rei testimonium," &c.

In 1661, a parliament was called in Dublin, and Bramhal was appointed speaker of the house of lords; the lord chancellor having been supposed to be disqualified for that office, as being at the time one of the lords-justices of the kingdom. The appointment, with the reasons and attendant circumstances, are thus announced to the duke of Ormonde, by lord Orrery: "His majesty having empowered the lords-justices to appoint a fit person to be speaker of the house of lords, my lord Chancellor has proposed to us my lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best a cold friend to the declaration: which made me propose my lord primate, well known in [versed in] the orders and proceedings of that house, (having sat in two parliaments,) a constant and eminent sufferer for his late and now [present] majesty: and that in such a choice, we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as a church government. Besides, it was but requisite, that church which had so long suffered, should now, (in the chief of it,) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My lord chancellor, [Sir M. Eustace,] for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my lord primate sat in that character."

In this parliament the primate was both alert and efficient in promoting the cause of the church and the interests of the clergy, and his efforts were expressly recognised by a solemn vote in the convocation. The parliament, indeed, appears to have been favourably inclined, as their first act was a declaration, requiring conformity to the church and liturgy as established by law. They are said to have proceeded thus early in this matter, as there was an apprehension of opposition from the dissenters so soon as their estates should be secured.† Other acts indicative of the same spirit may be here omitted, having been for the most part already noticed.

During the continuance of this parliament, a false alarm was excited by a letter, dated November 18th, and purporting to be written by a priest, named James Dermot, to another, named James Phelan. This was sent to the lords-justices, and contains complaints of the obstinacy of their enemies, in not returning to the obedience of the holy see, holding out prospects of freedom, and recommending that care should be taken to preserve their arms for the time of using them which was near, &c. This letter was the means of exciting alarm, and causing rigorous proceedings to be proposed; but the primate at once suspected and early pronounced it to be an imposture. To expose the truth he advised to have the two priests sent for: this was done, and many circumstances appear to have confirmed the primate's suspicion, although it was not found an easy matter to quiet the zeal of the government functionaries or the strong fears of the protestants; and the priests were treated with undeserved suspicion and protracted inquiry before the affair was set at rest.

On the 31st May, 1661, by an order of the house of commons, the master of the wards waited upon the primate to request, that he would

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, and Orrery's State Letters.

† Life of Ormonde.

administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the members: the primate, in compliance, appointed for the purpose the Sunday fortnight, in St Patrick's cathedral; and the Friday previous to that day he also appointed for a sermon, preparatory for the occasion. The sermon was on the subject of repentance, as testified by the forsaking of former sins, and was printed in accordance with a request of the house.

On the 25th June, 1663, the church was deprived, by death, of this most able, judicious, and efficient of her servants. Some, like Usher, may have deserved more highly the praise of comprehensive and profound learning; some, like Bedell, may be more venerable for saintly devotion; and some, like Taylor, may be illustrious for the splendid combination of unrivalled eloquence with these eminent gifts. But for the solid judgment which directs, and the moral virtues of firmness and industrious perseverance which hold on through the oppositions and difficulties of circumstance; for the sagacious estimate of the wants and workings of institutions, and the practical ability and energy to carry into effect the necessary expedients for improvement, reform, or defence; few churchmen may justly claim a fuller or worthier tribute of praise than Bramhal.

JOHN LESLIE, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1628—DIED A. D. 1671.

THE family of Leslie originated in Hungary at a very early period, and became in the course of many generations diffused into most parts of Europe. In their native country the family rose to high distinction, and gave many illustrious names to history. In the year 1067, when queen Margaret came to Scotland, Bertholdus Leslie came in her train, and obtained the favour of Malcolm III., who gave him his own sister in marriage, with large grants of land, and the command of the castle of Edinburgh, which he had bravely defended against the king's enemies. He was afterwards raised to the earldom of Ross; and gave rise to many noble families in the Scottish peerage.

The family of Leslie, in Ireland, is descended from William Leslie, fourth baron of Wardis in Scotland, who for his personal agility obtained the post of grand falconer to James IV. of Scotland. Of his sons, two gave origin to Irish families; James, whose grandson married into the family of Conyngham; and George, whose son, the Rev. John Leslie, is the subject of our present sketch.

He was born in 1572, in Scotland, and when about thirty-two, went abroad to complete his education by foreign travel. He visited Spain, Italy, and Germany, and having passed into France, was induced, by what reason we have not discovered, to reside there for many years. He was probably induced to this prolonged sojourn by the facilities for study not yet to be found at home, and which that country then afforded; and this conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that he attained a high and honourable proficiency in the learning of that period; and, in a not less remarkable degree, a command of the continental

tongues. He remained abroad for twenty-two years, and came home, we may presume, with a high reputation from the foreign schools. He was consecrated bishop of Orkney, having then attained the advanced age of fifty-six. He obtained doctor's degree in Oxford, and not long after came over to Ireland with his cousin James. He was made a denizen of Ireland, and in 1633 appointed a privy-councillor, and bishop of Raphoe.

During his continuance in this see, he recovered a third of its estate from those of the gentry of the diocese who wrongfully held the bishop's lands. He also erected an episcopal palace, which enabled him not only to stand his ground through the troubles which shortly after broke out, but to take a bold and distinguished part—not only stemming the first fury of the rebels, but resisting, with not less vigour and success, the more organized and powerful arms of Cromwell. His spirit and vigour induced the government to offer him a military command—this he refused as inconsistent with his sacred calling. But his refusal had in it no touch of weakness; and when the emergency of the occasion appeared to demand, he performed the duties of a brave and able leader, in defence of the protestant people of Ireland.

On one occasion this spirited old man displayed a spirit which approaches more near to the heroism of the ancient Greek warrior than an aged christian prelate. When the parliamentary forces began to obtain a superiority in the war, the bishop collected a force among his neighbours, and advanced to the defence of a mountain-pass on the road from Raphoe to Maharabeg in Donegal, where Sir Ralph Gore lay besieged—expecting the approach of the enemy, he is reported to have dropped on his knees on the roadside, and in the hearing of his men uttered the following very singular prayer:—"Almighty God! unto whom all hearts be open, thou knowest the righteousness of the cause we have in hand, and that we are actuated by the clearest conviction that our cause is just; but as our manifold sins and wickedness are not hid from thee, we presume not to claim thy protection, trusting in our own perfect innocence; yet if we be sinners, they are not saints; though then thou vouchsafest not to be with us, be not against us, but stand neuter this day, and let the arm of the flesh decide it." The enemy came shortly on, and were defeated, and the neighbouring country thus delivered from much severe calamity.

Bishop Leslie was soon after besieged by Cromwell in his palace; but this having been built with military foresight of such dangers, his resistance was successful. He was the last person in his country who held out against the parliamentary forces. When the liturgy was prohibited, he used it in his own household, and amid all the dangers of the time, steadily and openly maintained his episcopal character.

This brave and pious bishop died in 1671, at his house (or castle) of Glaslough, in his hundredth year, having been, according to his biographers, fifty years a bishop; though, looking to the dates which they give of his consecration and death, the time appears to be something less, as his consecration as bishop of Orkney was in 1628, from which to his death, in 1671, amounts to no more than 43 years.

Bishop Leslie left two sons, of whom one, Charles Leslie, dean of Connor, was eminent in the next generation.

JEREMY TAYLOR, BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

IN the year 1555, it is known that the statutes of earlier reigns, from Richard II., against the Lollards, the earliest protestants of England, were revived by the bigotry of queen Mary, and carried into a fearful and atrocious execution by those merciless and miscreant apostates, Bonner and Gardiner. Among the exalted and worthy prelates and ministers of the church of England, who obtained the martyr's crown in that season of trial, was Rowland Taylor, the chaplain of the illustrious Cranmer, and rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk. This worthy servant of God had the fortune to have a neighbour, the rector of the next parish, a man of pliant conscience, who, like all such, was perhaps ready to veer and turn with the wind of preferment and power, without any very conscious sacrifice of principle. Of this person it is mentioned, that, in the fervour of his zeal to comply with the new court doctrines, he was not content to celebrate the mass in his own parish of Aldham, but resolving to convert also the parishioners of Hadleigh, he seized possession of the church. When Taylor received the information of this outrage, he quickly repaired to the scene. A crowd of the people, who had been attracted by curiosity and other feelings, stood outside: the door was locked, and Taylor had to make his way through a side entrance. On entering the church, he found his neighbour dressed in the attire of the church of Rome, and standing before the communion table ready for that service so irreconcilable with any of the reformed churches, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers. Taylor was unsupported by the presence of any of his own parishioners, who were locked out; but he was a man of firm and warm temper, and not less zealous than the fiery renegade who had intruded into his church. "Thou devil," said he, "who made thee so bold as to enter this church of Christ?" The intruder replied—"Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?"—"I am no traitor, but the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore authority here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid coming hence," retorted Taylor. But the rector of Aldham and his party were not to be moved by words; they put Taylor forcibly out of the church, and fastened the door by which he had entered. The people who surrounded the building, when they perceived that violence had been used, had recourse to stones, but could do nothing more than break the church windows. The party within completed their commission, and, being regular soldiers, came away without effective opposition. From this act of resistance, no very serious apprehensions were perhaps at first entertained by Taylor, who probably contemplated deprivation as the extreme consequence to which he might be subjected by persisting in his duty: the law was yet in his favour, as the occurrence happened a little before the revival of the statutes above mentioned; and there was a seeming security in the known

sense of the English people. Such a reliance is, indeed, mostly illusive; it is seldom considered that it requires a considerable time to call national feeling into action, and that great and sudden exertions of arbitrary power are always more likely to amaze and prostrate, than to awaken the slow process of popular concentration. The queen, inflamed by a morbid and fanatic temper, and urged by the bigots of a persecuting creed, acted with decision. The protection of law was easily withdrawn; and when the statutes of the dark ages were revived, Taylor was urged by his friends to escape from a danger which was now easily foreseen; but the brave and devoted man rejected such counsel. He told his friends—"I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined to face the bishop, and tell him to his beard that he doth naught." His courage was not long to remain untried. He was brought before the lord-chancellor Gardiner who degraded the office of a bishop, and the seat of British equity, to give weight to the Satanic mission of an inquisitor. When confronted with his judge, Taylor asked him, in a solemn and unmoved tone, how he could venture to appear before the judgment-seat, and answer to the Judge of souls for the oaths he had taken under Henry and Edward. Gardiner answered, that these were Herod's oaths, and to be broken; that he had acted rightly in breaking them, and wished that Taylor would follow the example. The trial was not of long duration; for Taylor admitted the charges that he was married, and held the mass to be idolatrous. He was committed to prison, where the savage Bonner came to deprive him of his priesthood. Here another characteristic scene occurred. It was necessary that Bonner should strike him on the breast with his crosier. When about to perform this ceremonial, his chaplain told the bishop—"My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." "Yea, by St Peter, will I," was the stout old man's reply. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I refused to fight in my Master's quarrel." His sentence was the stake; and on the 9th February, 1656, he was brought out to be burned before his parishioners at Hadley. He was put into a pitch barrel, before a large crowd of afflicted spectators, whose outraged feelings were restrained by a cruel soldiery. Before fire was set to the barrel in which this martyr stood, an unknown hand among the soldiers threw a fagot at his head, with such force as to make the blood stream down his face. When he felt the flames, he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm—"Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness; according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight," &c. He was interrupted by a stroke of a halbert in the mouth, and desired to pray in Latin. The anger, or compassion of one of his guards happily abridged his sufferings. While the fire was slowly increasing about his agonized frame, a merciful blow on the head knocked out his brains.

From this venerable martyr of the English church was lineally descended Nathaniel, the father of Jeremy Taylor. The suffering of

his venerable ancestor had entailed poverty on his descendants; as Gardiner, who had probably selected the victim for his estate, had obtained possession of it after his death; and Nathaniel Taylor held a station in life more lowly than might be presumed. He was a barber-surgeon—a profession which, though very far below the rank of the surgeon of modern science, was no less above the barber of our time. Bishop Heber infers the respectability of his condition from his having filled the office of churchwarden, mostly held by wealthy and respectable persons. That he was not devoid of learning is ascertained from a letter written afterwards by his son, who mentions him “as reasonably learned, and as having himself solely grounded his children in grammar and mathematicks.”*

He was, it is supposed, sent at an early age to a grammar school in Cambridge, in which his progress is not traced, and entered the university in his thirteenth year, as a sizar in Caius college. There too, but indistinct and scanty notices remain of the course of reading he may have pursued. It does not appear from his writings, or from the known incidents of his life and conversation, that he made any considerable progress in mathematical science then, as since ardently cultivated in Cambridge. Yet the study of the mathematical science, as it then existed, would have filled but a small cell in the wide and all-contemplative mind of Taylor; and we cannot easily conclude that any part of ancient learning so gratifying to the intellect, and even attractive to the speculative imagination, should not have been followed and mastered by one who entered already grounded in the science. But many high talents were combined in Taylor, and we cannot conceive him long detained by the mere science of quantity and position; for the reader must recollect that the foundations of applied science had not been yet laid. But he was doubtless industrious in the acquisition of the multifarious knowledge which gleams copiously diffused through his style. It is generally related, on the authority of one who was his friend, that he obtained a fellowship in his own college, after taking his bachelor's degree, in 1631. But Heber, who was in possession of fuller and more authoritative accounts, cites Mr Bonney, who denies that there is any proof for such an assertion.

Shortly after taking his master's degree, he was admitted into holy orders; and an incident soon occurred which brought him into notice, and laid the first step of his advancement. He had among his college-intimates a friend named Ridsen, who had a little before obtained a lectureship in St Paul's cathedral. Having occasion to absent himself for some time, he applied to Taylor to fill his place until his return. Taylor consented, and soon became the object of that admiration which ever followed his preaching. Besides the power, brilliancy, and varied effect of his style; the grace of his person, and youthful sweetness and dignity of his countenance, heightened the charm of an eloquence unprecedented in the pulpit; and with these, “perhaps,” writes Heber, “the singularity of a theological lecturer, not twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers.” His fame soon reached the palace of Lambeth, and Laud sent for him to preach before him there.

* Heber.

He attended, preached, and was approved. But the archbishop was no less judicious than zealous in his encouragement of learning and piety: he thought it would be of far more advantage, in both respects, that Taylor should remain some time longer in his college. In order that he might more effectually be enabled to serve him, the archbishop thought it desirable to remove him to Oxford, in which he had himself considerable influence, having spent most of his life there, and some authority, being a visitor at the university. Some interval is supposed by Heber to have elapsed between the first interview here mentioned and the latter circumstance, during which Taylor may have prosecuted his studies at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth, according to a tradition still current in that vicinity. On October 20th, 1635, he was admitted in University college, Oxford, to the same rank which he had held in Cambridge; in three days after, a letter from Laud recommended him to succeed a Mr Osborn, who was about to give up his fellowship. This recommendation, however influential it might be with many, was naturally counteracted by that strong and salutary corporate feeling, which renders such bodies jealous of independence and in some degree exclusive. Taylor had scarcely obtained the character of an Oxfordman ten days; and unfortunately the statutes then required three years standing in the candidates. Laud argued that the degree of master conveyed the privileges of the standing which it implied: and the fellows were inclined to assent. The opposition of the warden, Dr Sheldon, defeated the object proposed, and in consequence no election took place at the time—and the nomination thus appears to have lapsed to the archbishop, in his visitorial capacity. In virtue of this power, he appointed Taylor to the vacant fellowship, on the 14th of January, 1636. The history of this incident seems to have been much involved in difficulties, which we think unnecessary to state, as the recent and popular memoir of Taylor by Bishop Heber, which we mainly follow, investigates the question with great fulness and sufficient authority, and, we think, explains the grounds of his decision satisfactorily. The bishop concludes his statement with the remark, that "the conduct of Sheldon, throughout the affair, seems to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation."

Taylor was thus placed in a position of all others perhaps the most favourable to the pursuits, as well as to the prospects, of a young student in divinity, who has talents to cultivate and a love of literature as it then subsisted. It was a time when the productive energies of the human intellect had not yet been called, otherwise than slightly and partially into operation—or even the right modes and processes of such a development been more than intimated to the mind of the day. The tendency, therefore, of the highest and brightest intellect was rather to gather and accumulate from the vast spread stores of the learning of antiquity and the middle ages, than to spend its power on such vague efforts at invention, as mere speculative investigations were only sure to produce. Hence the vast and seemingly inexhaustible treasures of

erudition which give to Hooker, &c. &c., the colossal amplitude, which has been so often observed by modern critics. These giants, as they are not unaptly termed, were fully engaged in extricating from the quarry, in rough-hewing and drawing into orderly arrangement, the ponderous materials, on which so many and magnificent structures have been raised. The profuse treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; the comparatively unknown branches of oriental literature, which still demand the earnest cultivation of universities; the wide field of scholastic learning, from which purer and more compendious methods of reasoning and expression were then beginning to arise, according, perhaps, to the best models of the standard writers among the ancients. These offered a wide and sufficiently engrossing direction. But, in addition, vast revolutions in ecclesiastical and civil concerns were in their maturity of form ready to break out into action, at the call of circumstances. And questions of the most profound importance, and involving the very foundations of church and state, called forth the more available powers of learned men. The discussions which began yearly to acquire increasing interest were not, as now, met on points of seemingly slight detail, but at the fountain head. Hence the broad and comprehensive view of a whole question, from the first elements to the minutest ramifications of the argument—so that every discussion was an elementary treatise. This tendency was, it is true, augmented by the time hallowed dialectic of the schools, from which the art of reasoning was yet drawn, and the habits of the intellect formed. Hence the minute and nugatory distinctions and divisions, without substantial difference, which characterize the ablest pens. The comparative scarceness of elementary treatises, and indeed of books, either demanded or invited the digressive method which supposes every thing unknown, and leaves out nothing that may however remotely be involved in the main argument. Such were the main causes, and such the general state of literature, in the period on which we are now engaged. And we have thought it not unseasonable to advert to it here, as we are impressed with a strong sense of its relation to the intellectual frame of Taylor's genius—though we shall again have to notice the same facts, when we shall come to trace the relative character of the learning of this period and our own, and the transition from one to the other.

During his occupation of the fellowship, Taylor is said to have been much admired for his preaching, which Wood designates "casuistical;" but Heber comments on the term, by observing, that "few of his existing sermons can be termed 'casuistical.'" We should presume that Wood employs the term inaccurately, and rather to convey an impression than to describe precisely. A more important fact was the suspicion which started up, at this time, of his being privately inclined to the communion of the church of Rome,—a suspicion which haunted him through life. This groundless notion mainly arose from that absence of bigotry, which ever characterizes the higher order of Christians; sometimes, indeed, to the verge of that opposite extreme, which deserves the name of latitude. There is no subject so dangerous to touch on lightly, as the accusation or defence of those fierce extremes, into which human opinion seems to verge in opposite directions.

Truths which rather influence from habit than by reason, are held by nearly the same tenure as prejudices; and, therefore, in the very remotest allusion to bigotry, there is always a risk incurred of seeming to favour the opposite and worse extreme: worse, because it is better to adhere with a blind tenacity to truth and right, than blindly to reject them; and better to be a formalist, than to break down the barriers of divine and human institutions. The combative principle of our nature, in nothing appears more strongly, than in its union with the intellectual ardour for disputed opinions and tenets; but they, who, in support of a creed however holy, would "call down fire from heaven," may be truly answered with the divine rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." If, indeed, the hostile array of opposing churches were but to vie in the essential spirit, and endeavour to outshine each other in the genuine sanctity of Christian charity, there would, in the course of a little time, be an end of ecclesiastical contention. It must, however, in fairness be allowed, that as the rank of those who are Christians according to the Redeemer's own test,—“if ye love one another,”—is by no means commensurate with the church visible, in any of its forms, and that there is yet at least a spurious and powerful array of secular hostility, leagued against it on every side: it is, perhaps, therefore, providentially ordered, that the church can derive strength from the worldly passions, or the intellectual tendencies which cling together in support of institutions. The charge of bigotry is a missile which can be retorted indeed freely on every side—but unless when it involves the baser and darker passions of our nature we would say it is too indiscriminately applied, and is never so truly applicable in the worst sense, as to the shallow infidel who is the most ready to use it. In making this allowance, we may claim from the severe and rigid champion of tenets, some indulgence for the discriminative liberality of men like Bedel and Taylor, whose zeal against the errors of the church of Rome did not prevent their ready and cordial intercourse with such of its clergy as were otherwise worthy of respect and regard. There are protestant clergymen—and it is indeed for this reason we think it necessary to say so much on the point—who are so destitute of moral firmness, and so little built up in the knowledge of their profession, that they cannot be liberal without being lax, or charitable without feebleness, and a few weak individuals have allowed the vicious love of popularity to usurp the place of principle; such instances, we are glad to allow, are not frequent, but, a few instances of this nature are enough to exasperate prejudice, and lead to the confusion of ideas, so often contained in such reproaches as we have noticed. But on the high intellectual and spiritual level of a man like Taylor, opposition cannot take the form of narrow bigotry, or conciliation and charity that of low and feeble compromise. Mailed alike in the armour of righteousness, and panoplied with the full resources of talent and knowledge—there was no room for any feeling opposed to a frank and ingenuous regard for an able and a good man, who might yet entertain errors, much to be deprecated. Great learning and superior understanding must command respect, and good qualities regard, even in an enemy, and the person who feels them not, is at least devoid of some of the nobler virtues of

human nature; but we cannot conceive an object of deeper or more anxious interest to a good mind, than an amiable, well-intentioned, humane, and gifted man, whom we know to be involved in unhappy and dangerous errors, which may, for any thing we can know to the contrary, place him under a most awful weight of spiritual responsibility—a feeling which must be heightened much by the consideration, should it have place, that he is the object of severe human enactments, (even though just and politic,) and of the prejudices of the vulgar, whose feelings, however rightly directed, are seldom placed upon the just grounds. At the period of his life, in which we are now engaged, Taylor is mentioned to have lived on terms of intimacy with a learned Franciscan, known by the appellation of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Christopher Davenport; and of whom, Heber gives the following brief account:—"He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered, at an early age, in the year 1613, as battler or poor scholar of Merton college. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and at length an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low countries and of Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of Queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion." We further learn, that, although his great ability led to his promotion, and preserved to him the confidence of the papal cabinet, yet his known liberality of sentiment and the conciliatory spirit, which is said to have appeared throughout his writings, drew upon him a general distrust among the members of his own church. One of his books entitled "*Deus, Natura, Gratia*," had the honour to find a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Spain, and narrowly escaped being burnt in Italy.* He spent much of his time in Oxford, among the learned men of which he had many friends, and often found refuge there in the stormy times through which he lived. He died at a very advanced age, in 1680.

Such friendships, however consistent with firm and consistent adherence to Taylor's own church, could not in such times escape misconception. An intimacy with the same person was afterwards, in 1643, one of the charges which brought Laud to the block.† The friar, in his conversation, very naturally spoke of Taylor, as of one whose opinions tended very much to an agreement with his own: it is easily understood, how two able men of different persuasions, may very much confine their communications either to those points on which they can agree, or at least in which they may not unreasonably hope to convince each other; and as easy to apprehend the mistake which is but too likely to arise from such conversations, when so much that is common is differently seen in relation to different principles. It is, therefore, no injustice to assume, that Davenport is most likely to have repre-

* Heber.

† Heylin, Book V. p. 40.

sented Taylor in such a manner, as could not fail to heighten much the prejudices which, in such times, would be excited by their acquaintance.

It was at a very advanced age, and, of course, many years after Taylor's death, and still further from the period of their intimacy, that Davenport told Wood how Taylor had some serious thoughts of being reconciled to the church of Rome, but that the Roman catholics rejected him on account of some offensive expressions, in a sermon which he preached at this time, on a fifth of November, in the university. Now, this is mere dotage, if not a very unwarrantable breach of truth; for, it appears that the unwarrantable expressions in question, are nothing less than a clear chain of reasoning, from which the preacher infers that the gunpowder plot was a consistent consequence from the tenets of the Romish church. That Taylor may have regretted and even apologised for such a sermon, proves nothing. He was vexed at finding himself compelled to give offence, by a statement which he would not have made if he did not think it just. The sermon was published with a dedication to Laud. Should we seem to dwell on this point at greater length than its importance may be thought by some to demand, we must plead that the charge was frequently renewed; and, considering the history of the times through which Taylor lived, was inferior to none in the risks to which its object must have been exposed. There is, indeed, a general and far more serious importance in the consideration of a question which involves the charge of a latitudinarian temper or conduct—liable to be made in every time—and of all accusations, perhaps most liable to be unfairly made—for the defect of popular judgments is want of the fair allowance which grows from just discrimination. As we would not, however, for a moment have it inferred, that we should wish to suggest any indulgence for the error opposed to that for which Taylor was falsely censured, we may briefly digress so far, as to draw some distinction between the two. Every observing man, who has some acquaintance with the educated portion of society, and who has been habituated to observe the moral and intellectual habits of men, will have often had occasion to notice two classes of minds, constituted oppositely in various degrees, though, for brevity, we may here describe their several extremes. Of these, the one may be described as exclusively theoretical; the other as exclusively practical. The one is uniformly governed by habits, maxims, and time-ruled cases, and proceeds without ever reverting to the first principles of things; the other dwells altogether in the reason, and is always reverting to primary laws, and original foundations. Of these, the first must be admitted to be the safer mode of error; because to preserve irrespectively, is safer than to trust the course of things to the ablest speculative interference. But both, in excluding a wide range of observation or principle, are essentially wrong in their understanding of every subject which has any object. The one is a bigot, and the other a mere projector: the bigot in his narrow scope considers only what is before him, but he may be useful and even wise in his practical capacity; the theorist is nearly sure to be wrong, so soon as he may chance to come into contact with the realities of life; for, though his logic may be quite correct, the

habits of his mind will, in most instances, exclude those facts of common observation which are the real *data* in every question of any practical weight. In truth, it must be considered, that in the practical workings of social life, there are processes of our nature, far too profound for any reach of mere speculation, and only to be taken into account effectively, by a comprehensive estimate of the habits, prejudices, and errors of the mass of mankind, as elements of chief importance; and there is no question of social or ecclesiastical polity to be treated like a metaphysical theory from which may be deduced a clear and systematic *rationale* of all the grounds for legislative interposition. The person who undertakes this is the latitudinarian,—he who irrespectively resists improvement is a bigot. A mind such as Taylor's, was too comprehensive and acute for either case—his commanding, pervading, and penetrating intellect, dispelled the cloud which blinds the reason—while the rich development of his imagination and moral perceptions and capacities placed before him the true aspect of human realities; the wide sea of life, with its mutable breezes and entangled cross-currents; its mingled good and evil, folly and wisdom, vice and virtue, truth and error; which are the great moving forces, acting with infinite diversity of opposition and combination. Such men, while they must be indulgent in their allowance for the errors of a being essentially liable to err, will, for the same reasons, exercise caution in the adoption or abandonment of opinions or systems of opinion. But in truth it is by a providential arrangement in the social economy, that the crowd hold their opinions by the safer operation of habit, rather than by reason, which would demand a far larger amount of natural intellect, as well as of intellectual cultivation, than consists with man's condition or the end of his present state of being. But it is also for this reason that men such as Taylor are very liable to be misjudged by the world. His biographers observe, that the suspicion of an inclination to the Romish church attended him through life. Heber observes, that the favour of Laud would of itself have exposed him to suspicion. We cannot here enter on the vindication of Laud. But it is a reflection naturally connected with the subject of these remarks, that in times of violent controversy, it is a familiar fact—as it would be an obvious inference from the preceding statements—that one of the most common missiles of controversy or of party, is the imputation of extreme errors. Such imputations are often pernicious and always unjust; unjust because false and mischievous; because they often happen to turn away the attention of the accuser and accused from fatal errors, which should constitute the true point of discussion between them. To take an illustration from the subject: if a person inclined to compromise so far with the Romish church, as to conform in some points of form or discipline, not considered on either side as essentially connected with doctrine, should be accused of a leaning to popery; it is evident that while this wrongful accusation continues to be enforced and defended, that the accused is not merely assailed in an impregnable position, but that the question of real and vast importance is meanwhile passed without notice; that is, to what extent the preservation of mere forms or of discipline may happen to be essential to the maintenance of essentials. In revolutionary times, when such questions and such ac-

cusations are ever sure to arise, clever persons of shallow judgment are ever tending to compromise on the very ground here noticed; and from the inveteracy of their opponents, their error escapes a full and direct exposure; the real question is never stated. It seems never to enter the minds of liberal reasoners, that though the adoption or rejection of a mere form may be harmless, or even beneficial—that a concession may be most fatal, in the direction of some prevalent current of human passion and prejudice. The question goes indeed beyond the depth of the intelligence mostly engaged in such controversies: it is not what is abstractedly the value of such a compromise, but considering human nature and the actual state of opinion, what will be its effect. Theologians, in the plenitude of their erudition, too little recollect that all such external arrangements have the complicated workings of our nature for their sole object.

We have dwelt on these reflections, because we conceive it to have too much real importance to very many persons in this country, where such intimacies and such mistakes are not uncommon. In such cases, the moral we would urge is;—not that there should be less delicacy or less conciliation, or a less careful tact in the avoiding of useless controversy; but, we would recommend a considerate forbearance from the common and always mischievous precipitation, by which such kindly and discreet liberality is confounded with that vicious liberalism, which, when justly considered, reduces itself to the entire want of principle in creed or party

From this digression, we turn to our narrative. On this period of his life, Taylor's biographers have ascertained few facts. His advancement to the rectory of Uppingham, soon after the election to his fellowship, is thought to have drawn him away to a considerable extent from the university and its pursuits. With all his tastes and capacities for studious engagements, a spirit so ardent, and so largely diffused with the active impulses of the breast, is little likely to have lingered *inter sylvas academi* longer than the first moment which might offer a field of public and productive exertion. His fellowship was, however, in 1639, terminated by marriage, having on the 27th of May, in that year, married Phoebe Langsdale, whose mother, there is reason to believe, was at the time a widow residing in the parish of Uppingham. It is also known that her brother was a physician, resident at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he died in 1638.*

Here we may easily conjecture an interval of such happiness as results from the quiet rotation of studies, spiritual avocations, and domestic intercourse, for all of which the frame of Taylor's mind was so pre-eminently adapted. Such intervals have no history, save that tender and often painful record which they find in the after-seasons of trial and adversity, when they star the distance of past days with a calm and holy light, which no future short of heaven can restore. Such happiness and such reminiscences we can conceive for Taylor, who had truly "fallen on evil days." It is to these periods of trial mostly, and always in a measure to the rough and toilsome emergencies and difficulties of active life, that we are indebted for the broken and

* Heber, from Bonney's MS. Note.

defective notices which remain of the lives of the eminent men of this period; and but too often, even in the relation of the acts of the individual, there is little to be related more than the historical outline of those events to which these acts mainly belong. Of the fierce and eventful controversies which so soon broke in upon the peace of Uppingham, as of every other corner of the three kingdoms, we have repeatedly had to relate. The church and the monarchy were assailed by those awful and destructive commotions, which were not to cease until they had overthrown the existing order of things. Among those who earliest entered the field of controversy was Taylor. He was among the first of those who joined king Charles at Oxford; and it was "by his majesty's command" that he soon after published a treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali, old and new." The work was at the time little noticed; for the controversy was to be decided by arms, before it should be discussed by the less effectual warfare of dialectics. But it found notice and approval among those who were afterwards to lead the argument; and king Charles, not inferior to any of his bishops in his judgment of the merits of a theological argument, showed his satisfaction by conferring upon the author the degree of D.D. by his legal mandate—an honour lessened, it is true, by the abuse of this royal privilege, to such an extent that the heads of the colleges felt themselves bound to remonstrate against the numerous and somewhat indiscriminate admissions to academical degrees: but at the time they served to compensate for the king's inability to confer any other reward than such honours. His powers to reward were circumscribed indeed, while the injuries inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, upon his adherents, were great and imminent: the parliament, which trampled on the tyranny of kings with a fiercer tyranny of its own, spared no worth, or respected no right, if it were but qualified with the taint of loyalty. Taylor was deprived of the possession of his living of Uppingham, though there seems to be reason to doubt the fact of its actual sequestration. As the consequence was to him the same in either case, we shall not waste space here by entering upon the question, of which the main consideration will be found in the lives written by Heber and Bonney, as doubtless also in others.

Taylor had no duty, therefore, to interfere with the appropriation of his time. That which now mainly occupied him was in the flying court and camp of the king, to which, about this period, he was attached as one of the royal chaplains. This appointment he had obtained about the time of his institution to Uppingham; and it is supposed that it was in the autumn of 1642 that he left it to attend the court, when the king, after the battle of Edgehill, was on his route to Oxford. At Oxford there were at this time assembled, on the same occasion, many of the most illustrious persons of their time, for every virtue and attainment. We have already had to describe the preaching of Usher before the court in this interval. Hammond also was there; and amid his fears and privations, Taylor did not at least want that consolation so valuable to those who are susceptible of the intercourse of thought, the conversation and sympathy of spirits of his own elevated order. To a man like Taylor, the loss of property, or the fears of approaching troubles,

would indeed only serve, by the excitement of such external circumstances, as the means of calling forth higher powers of reflection, and loftier capacities of fortitude and endurance. But he had been severely visited about the same time, by afflictions far more trying to good and noble hearts—the loss of one of his sons, who died in the spring of the same year; “nor,” says Bishop Heber, “did the mother long survive her infant.”* We quote the bishop’s words, because on looking attentively through Mr Bonney’s memoir, which he here cites as authority, not only is there no mention of the first Mrs Taylor’s death, but, on carefully turning over the entire memoir, it is apparent that Mr Bonney was not aware of the fact, as he speaks throughout, under the impression that Taylor was not married again, and that this lady was the mother of his seven children, and sharer of his subsequent troubles and promotion. The bishop, however, not only cites Mr Jones’ MS. account, but confirms the fact by the authority of lady Wray, who, with Mr Jones of Henro, in the county of Down, were descendants in the fifth degree from the bishop and his second wife. Mr Bonney, indeed, draws a fallacious inference, from the number of his children, that the first wife was yet alive at a subsequent period; but the answer is, that three at least of those children were born of the second marriage.

As one of the royal retinue, Taylor is supposed to have accompanied the court in the frequent campaigns and expeditions of king Charles during the three following years, in which he kept his head-quarters at Oxford, and took his turns with Usher and Dr Sheldon as preacher. But after the fatal field of Naseby, the royal prospects were overcast, and the king became a fugitive, from which time the principal persons of his retinue were under the necessity of seeking their safety where they might best find it. During this uncertain period, Taylor appears to have experienced some adventures and wanderings, obscurely hinted at by his biographers. In 1643, a letter to his brother-in-law, which we shall here give as we find it in Mr Bonney’s book, makes it seem likely that he was then, with his mother-in-law and children, at lodgings in London.

“DEARE BROTHER,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting of thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse: though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy lifetime; for that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it), till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time; but

* See Bonney, p. 18, as cited by Heber.

your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition, you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally; so doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

“Thy most affectionate and endeared brother,

“JER. TAYLOR.

“November 24, 1643.

“To my very dear brother, Dr Langsdale, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough.”*

From an expression in this letter, it is inferred by Heber that he was at the time suffering from distressed circumstances; and that it was written from London, as Royston was a printer and bookseller in Ivy Lane, who afterwards published many of Taylor's writings.

Taylor's first retirement from the royal army is supposed to have been occasioned by the attraction of an attachment; and the most authoritative testimonies lead to the conclusion that, in 1644, his second marriage was contracted with a lady in Wales. He had become acquainted with this lady during his first visit to Wales. She was a Mrs Johanna Bridges. She possessed a small estate at Mandinam, and is reputed to have been a natural daughter of the king's, when prince of Wales and under the corrupt tutelage of Buckingham. The fact of the estate is stated by Heber, on the authority of Mr Jones' manuscripts, and in some degree confirmed by the marriage settlement of Taylor's third daughter, in which the mother, who survived the bishop, “settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property.”† From a letter of lady Wray, Heber states that she is said to have possessed a fine person, which is (he says) confirmed by her portrait, still preserved by the family, which exhibits a striking resemblance to her father.

Of the events of his life, during this period of confusion, we have already intimated that there is no certain register. In one of his occasional attendances on the king, he was taken prisoner, in a victory gained by the parliamentary troops, before the castle of Cardigan, in February, 1644. To this, and we think to the recent circumstance of his marriage, the following extract from the dedication to his “liberty of prophesying,” seems to allude when he tells his patron, Lord Hatton, “that in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here,” he continues, “I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence; that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again, I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but, that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been

* Bonney, p. 15.—Heber, I. 36.

† Heber, I. 55.

lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. “Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρ-
εἶχον οὐ τὴν τυχεύσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῶν; ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελαβόντο
ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἩΜΑΣ, διὰ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῖ ἐφιστῶτα, καὶ διὰ το ψυχρὸς.”* In this
there appears to be a close, though figurative, sketch of the course and
circumstances of his fortune, during the interval to which it applies; the
temporary secession from the perils of his court-life—the seemingly
secure provision for domestic quiet and competence, which such
a marriage must, under ordinary circumstances, have secured, and the
sudden interruption, alleviated by the “mercies of a noble enemy.”
While, as Heber justly observes, the Greek quotation seems to imply
that he had numerous fellows in misfortune. It also intimates the
kindness of their treatments; with respect to the particular circum-
stances, and the duration of his confinement, there is nothing more
certain than conjecture. It seems only to be inferred with strong
probability, that from Colonel Langham, the governor of Pembroke
Castle, and the members of the parliamentary committee for that dis-
trict, he met with the humane attention which was due to his character.

We should here make some mention of the noble person, who was,
during this interval, his chief friend and patron, Christopher Hatton,
afterwards Lord Hatton, of Kirby, with whom he had formed a friend-
ship during his residence at Uppingham. To this nobleman his
“Defence of Episcopacy,” with several of his earlier works, were
dedicated. Of him also, a passage quoted by Heber, from Clar-
endon, says, “a person who, when he was appointed comptroller of the
king’s household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years,
he found a way to diminish.” Upon this Heber justly and pointedly
observes, at some length, on the uncertainty of such statements, coun-
terbalanced, as they so often are on either side, by the friendship and
enmity of parties and rivals. It would not, he says, be “easy to find
a more splendid character in history, than is ascribed by the hope or
gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman, of whom the historian speaks
thus slightly:” the bishop hints, however, the deduction which may
be made for the style of eulogy, which debased the dedications of that
period: but admits, that Hatton must have had some pretensions to
learning or talent, on grounds which we think have sufficient interest
to be stated with a little more detail.

Sir Christopher had been made knight of the bath, at the corona-
tion of Charles I., and was one of the very first who came to his aid
with hand and fortune, at the commencement of the civil wars. In
1640, he was member of the parliament which then met, and had the
sagacity to foresee the destruction of ecclesiastical structures, which
would be likely to take place as a result of their political proceedings:
he urged Dugdale, the well-known antiquary, to visit and endeavour to
secure sketches and descriptions of the principal churches through
England: for the execution of this useful suggestion we quote the

* And the barbarians showed us no small kindness; for they kindled a fire and
received us every one, because of the present rain and because of the cold.—*Acts*
xxviii. 2.

authority cited by Mr Bonney. In the summer of 1641, Dugdale, accompanied by William Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, "repaired first to the cathedral of St Paul, and next to the abbey of Westminster, and there made exact draughts of all the monuments in each of them, copied the epitaphs according to the very letter, and all the arms in the windows or cut in stone. All of which, being done with great exactness, Mr Dugdale rode to Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark-upon-Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and the like, in all those cathedral, collegiate, conventual, and divers other churches, wherein any tombs and monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them might be preserved for future and better times." *Fasti*, Oxon. p. 694. As every reader of English history is aware, the suggestion of Hatton and the industry of Dugdale were nothing less than seasonable. The storm of sacrilege was not slow to break forth over the most sacred and venerable antiquities of the country.

The duration of Taylor's confinement cannot be ascertained, and we shall not waste space with conjecture. Neither can we pretend to reconcile the apparent discrepancies, by which we are from time to time perplexed in the unavoidably vague narrations of our authorities; it is enough to observe, that such difficulties must always occur in the want of those details which cannot be fairly the subject of conjecture. After his liberation it probably was, that he found his means of subsistence so far reduced, as to drive him to the necessity of obtaining sustenance by teaching. Deprived previously of his church preferment, he was, on his liberation, probably compelled to make a large composition for the preservation of a small estate. It is, however, certain, that he joined with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards a prebendary of Lincoln, in a school kept at Newton-hall, a house in the parish of Lanfihangel; in which, according to Wood, as quoted by Bonney and Heber, several youth were most "loyally educated" and sent to the universities, though a tradition, said to be yet current in that part of Wales, affirms that Taylor taught school from place to place wheresoever he could find means. There is, indeed, nothing inconsistent in supposing both accounts to be true, as the latter may have led the way to the first mentioned; nevertheless, on mere oral traditions, there is no reliance to be placed, further than as simply indications of some originating fact, and as corroborative of more authoritative testimony. So far, they may have decided weight, because a testimony of no *independent value* may by an obvious law of probable reasoning be a valuable *corroboration*.

Of the scholars, few have arrived at the distinction of a historical record. Among those mentioned by Taylor's biographers, Judge Powel is recollected, as having borne a distinguished part afterwards in the famous trial of the seven bishops. "A new and easy institution of grammar" was one of the results of this passage of Taylor's life: it has a Latin dedication by Wyatt, and one in English by himself. It is of course a scarce book, a copy still exists in the library of Caius' college. Heber, who probably had seen it, mentions that it was most likely to have been the work of Wyatt. This was published in 1647; and

shortly after, appeared his "Liberty of Prophesying," which bishop Heber calls the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of Taylor's writings; of its contents we shall hereafter offer some account: here we shall only notice it, so far as it may be regarded as illustrative of the general disposition and characteristic opinions of the writer. To have published a work in favour of toleration, was, indeed, not merely to think in advance of the time in which he lived, but to brave the spirit of popular intolerance in one of its most imposing and dangerous moods. Not only was religious persecution in one of its periods of full and vigorous operation, but the principle of toleration was not yet understood. So vigorous is the hold which the corruptions of prejudice and habit take of human nature, that, in the course of fifteen centuries, it seems to have grown into an axiom of reason, that the truth of God, was to be maintained by ways in every sense so opposed to the plainest principles which he has revealed to his fallen and erring creatures. And it is even a sad truth, that toleration has, even to the present day, few to advocate it otherwise than on the false principle of infidelity or latitudinarianism. It is to the praise of Taylor that he maintained the truth without falling into any of those errors which surround it on every side. Guarding against the admission of those dangerous immunities, which some of the freethinking politicians of our time would claim for the open dissemination of immorality and blasphemy of every foul shade and form; he exposed the unfitness of legal coercions and penalties, as the means of suppressing religious opinions, with a force, and to an extent, which exposed him to the charge of advocating those tenets for which he simply claimed freedom from severities not warranted by the law of God. There was, indeed, not much indulgence to be expected from the utmost liberality of his time; as Heber with great force reflects, "Even the sects who have themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth*; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain." The bishop also mentions, "a copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes, expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume, '*Palleo metu et vobis dico non omnibus.*' His arguments, particularly in behalf of the anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced, in apology for the opinions of those sectaries."* It is only necessary to add in this place, that, notwithstanding the general error which we have stated in these remarks, there was at the particular juncture, some peculiar fitness for such an argument. It was, in fact, one of those critical moments, when something like a temporary revulsion takes place in the balanced collisions of party; when, fearing and doubting each other, the thought of com-

* Heber, i. 45.

promise starts up, and seems for a moment to offer hopes of advantage. As we have already noticed, the rival sects, which had conjointly found their way to within a near grasp of ascendancy, began to see and feel that they had more to fear from each other, than from the subdued powers of the church and throne. A compromise with these fallen powers would have promised, at least, an advantage of no small weight; but with the inconsistency so common to popular prejudice, each would have a bargain in which nothing essential was to be allowed or yielded up. It was, indeed, simply an intrigue for political victory; but it was one which must have given some effect to a forcible and eloquent argument for toleration.

About the same time, Taylor published a "Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore," &c., of which the substance had been drawn up by him formerly, on the occasion of the form of worship issued by the parliamentary party, in 1643, under the known title of a "Directory," which we have frequently had occasion to mention. Some of his arguments on this subject may be here offered, as containing a brief view of the most essential portion of the argument. We may premise so far as to say, on our own part, that there is a small portion of his reasoning which we should somewhat modify, were we engaged in a statement of the whole argument: we would say, that, in order to advocate set forms of prayer, it is by no means essential (though it may be imposed by the errors of an adversary,) to consider the question as to the operation of the Spirit. And we cannot help thinking, that in this very question, both parties have been misled from the perception of some very simple truths, by this unnecessary complication. To deny that every good gift cometh from the Father of lights—to say that any grace, or gift, or any holy attribute, or manifestation of christian mind, can exist independently of the power of God by his Spirit, we would conceive to be contradictory to Scripture, and a denial of the tenets of the church of England: to talk of miracles as affecting this affirmation, is a foolish sophism. The ordinary operation of the Spirit is simply a portion of the uniform, though unseen, agency of a power that never ceases to be present or to act: it becomes a miracle only, in fact, when the case is a visible exception *to the ordinary course*. The power which works by actuating the affections and faculties must, demonstrably, be only known as a natural agent, until we draw the more correct inference from the direct affirmation of God, in his revelation. It is for this reason that we consider both Taylor, and other very able writers who have followed in his steps, to be not a little incautious on this point, and adapted to give an advantage to their antagonists. The extract, which we here offer, is, however, free from such a charge.

"If all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve the catholic communion; and, in former ages, whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretick, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies; only those parties that combined kept the same liturgy; and, indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of

union, that it was the only ligament of their society, (for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were,) so that this may teach us a little to guess, I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms, and minutes of churches, those christians must needs be scattered, who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings; every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be in vain, if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world; and how powerful everything is for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the primitive church, appears in this, that the *xabaiszeos*, or excommunication, was an exclusion, 'a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii,' from the participation of the public meeting and prayers; and, therefore, the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union; the authority and consent, the public spirit and common acceptance, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion." In this, and in the succeeding parts which, in the course of a few years, he published on the same subject, Taylor's object was evidently to convince all parties, that they might reconcile their differences and unite in the fold of the same church. A union which might, perhaps, be effected between most of the protestant churches, if it were possible for men, constituted as man appears to be, to avoid giving to forms and accidents, the place of vital and essential principles; and to inferential tenets, upon which the best and holiest men have differed and will differ, more importance than to those authentic and primary doctrines, on which all christian churches which have taken Scripture for their authority, have agreed. Nothing, in truth, can be more illustrative of human "foolishness" than the aptitude of sects to elevate their feelings, and narrow their views to the almost exclusive contemplation of the little dogmas, upon which they stand separate from other religious denominations. And yet this will, upon strict examination, be found at the bottom of dissent: what renders it more palpable to those who observe extensively, is the fact, that, within the very bosom of every church or sect, the differences of every kind, among individuals, will be found to be as great as those which separate the professions to which these remarks apply. We must, indeed, admit, that there are sects altogether beyond the pale of comprehension; such as differ upon the main and fundamental tenets concerning justification, must, of course, stand ever far apart. For this reason, the socinian, whose doctrine sweeps clean away the entire system of redemption; and the church of Rome, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, places it upon a wholly different foundation, cannot be included in the reproach of wide dissent on narrow or unessential grounds. But we would, if we could, strongly impress the distinction to be drawn between speculative and metaphysical tenets, and those which are simply and literally revelation. The one, though grounded on the text of Scripture, rises into deductions beyond its direct scope, and far above the level to which human reason has yet succeeded in rising, so as to ensure certainty, which is by no means to be measured by individual conviction. The other is the practical sub-

stance of ordinary piety, such as looking to Scripture as designed for the reasonable information of the humble followers of Christ, and such as looking to common human nature, was evidently all that man is capable of reaching. A single glance on the fluent and fiery controversialists of any given tenet, is enough to show, that whether the doctrine is true or not, its professor is not often more than the partisan. Bishop Butler has beautifully pointed out, that a system, which is but *part* of one more vast and comprehensive, must needs have many links of connexion with the unknown whole, and these must necessarily offer inscrutable and mysterious points to human ignorance. It is but too often upon these dim and vague points, that human presumption seizes to build high and subtle structures of theosophy: such, in every branch of knowledge, has been the error of our reason: in natural philosophy, facts come at last to demolish these proud edifices of error; but the sophist, who anatomizes the being, and scrutinizes the counsels of God, is at least safe in the remote and unfathomable depth which he pretends to sound. On such questions, do we counsel a perfect abstinence of reason? Certainly not, for it is not in man's nature: but we cannot help urging that a broad distinction should be made between those practical articles, which the gospel offers as articles of saving faith, and those which are the growth of dogmatic theology. And that those who are the guides of churches and sects, would well consider whether a comprehensive unity in the visible church of Christ, beset as it is with enmity on every side, is not more important than any secondary question of discipline, form, or even of those articles of speculative opinion, which, while they separate some, are in fact diffused throughout the entire body of every church of any considerable extent.

As we have repeatedly intimated, there remains little trace of the private history of Taylor, through the time over which these publications may be supposed to have been appearing. The school in which he had taken part was probably broken up by the disturbances of the time, or by his imprisonment; and he was reduced to a state of much difficulty, in which he appears to have been entirely thrown upon the kindness of his friends. Of these the principal, at this period of his life, was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carberry, a noble distinguished for his virtue and ability, who had obtained celebrity in the Irish wars, and as the chief commander for the king, in South Wales. He was universally known for the moderation of his character, and respected in every party. After the battle of Marston Moor he was allowed to compound on easy terms for his estate. He was first married to a daughter of Sir John Altham, of Orbey, of whom Taylor has left a portrait in the sermon which he composed for her funeral, which, says Heber, "belongs rather to an angelic than a human character." The second was a lady of celebrity more than historic, as she was the original of the "lady" in Milton's "Comus." In a note, derived from Mr Bonney's MS. notes, the bishop gives us the following interesting particulars:—"The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first, displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity, which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in *Comus*. The

first lady Carberry left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis, Lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history, as the heroic wife and widow of William, lord Russell. A copy of Taylor's *Essay on Repentance*, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

With this family at Golden Grove, Taylor found, for several years, a secure asylum, where he was enabled to pursue his learned labours, and perform the duties of his calling as private chaplain, when they were proscribed and suspended elsewhere. In this interval he published his "*Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar*," the first of his writings which obtained considerable popularity, and which Heber considers to have thus determined the character of his succeeding works. His publications, for some years following, were entirely or mainly devotional. Such, we are inclined to believe, was the native temper of his mind; and had he not been cast in times so peculiarly characterized by great and fundamental controversies, it is probable that to such his pen would have been confined. Like all men of broad and comprehensive intelligence, Taylor's understanding and affections rested too strongly on principles and essentials, to have any impulses to the mere discussion of controversy, or to increase division by unduly aggravating those small differences which are too apt to be the main rallying points of popular prejudice. In the three following years, he published a funeral sermon on the first lady Carberry; a course of twenty-seven sermons; and his "*Holy Living and Dying*," both composed at the desire of the same lady.

In 1654, he was provoked, by some unseasonable demonstrations from the members of the Romish church, of triumph in the adversity of the church of England, to review several of the chief topics of difference between these two churches,* for the purpose of selecting the most decisive point. His choice was, we think, judicious, as he seized on that, which if all other points were reconciled, must involve the most wide, diametrical, and necessary difference which can be conceived to exist between two churches professing to have a kindred source. The title of the essay which contained his view is enough to convey all that we should here venture to add—the "*Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation." It was dedicated "to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor."*

In the same year, his "*Catechism for Children*" was enlarged and republished with a preface, which, though according to Heber, "ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to monarchy," contained expressions offensive to that captious vigilance, with which a revolutionary government must ever be upheld. He was in consequence committed to prison. The

* Heber, i. 61.

entire knowledge of the fact is derived from a letter of great interest from the celebrated John Evelyn, which is published in the memoirs of that famous scholar.

In the biography of Taylor's period, it would not be easy to discover a subject of more interest, than the incidents and progress of the friendship between him and Evelyn. Yet, of these the record is slight and imperfect, and, with little exception, is only to be drawn from the few letters which are to be found of their correspondence through many years.

Shortly after, 31st March, 1665, a letter of Evelyn's proves the fact, that Taylor was a second time arrested, and, as before, confined in Chesham Castle. The time was the same to which we have already adverted more largely in the life of primate Usher, when Cromwell recommenced the persecution of the episcopalian clergy, who had a little before obtained a brief rest.

His confinement was short and unattended with severity. A letter published in one of his works—*Deus Justificatus*, and addressed to Warner, Bishop of Rochester,—thus adverts to the circumstance: "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person."* On this Heber observes: "His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem at all times to have impressed and softened those, who were from political and polemical considerations most opposed to him." The bishop also mentions, that "there is room for the suspicion that his wife's estate was a second time largely drawn upon, for the purpose of conciliating the ruling powers," and that these "last were content to grant some degree of freedom to a learned and holy man whom they had reduced to almost abject poverty."

The luxuriance of his genius was, in the meantime, not repressed, or his christian zeal slackened by external circumstances. He completed his course of sermons for the year, and produced a work entitled, "*Unum Necessarium*;" or the doctrine and practice of Repentance." In this work he expressed himself on the doctrine of original sin, so as to expose himself to the reproach of Pelagianism, and to give much alarm to the clergy. Taylor endeavoured to flank his book with dedications and prefatory explanations, which, of course, could have but slight effect. His friend the bishop of Rochester expostulated with him in a letter not preserved. Saunderson, who had been the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, lamented his error with tears, and regretted that it could not be authoritatively suppressed. Taylor did not sit quite passive under the storm of reproach and reproof: he produced a "Further explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin," in the form of a tract, with a dedication to the bishop of Rochester. This was sent to the bishop for correction and approval: the bishop was still unsatisfied, and refused to revise a work which retracted nothing objectionable. This is ascertained from a note of his reply, on the back of Taylor's letter, since published for the first time, by Heber. The offer in this letter of Taylor to suppress this tract, as also to correct it if the bishop thought fit, "is,"

* Taylor's Works, vol. ix. ; quoted by Heber.

says Heber, "at least an evidence, that, if Taylor were wrong, he was not unwilling to be instructed; and that the error of his opinions was not rendered more offensive by a self-confident and dogmatical temper." "With such a disposition," he adds, "he might err, but he could hardly be a heretic." The letters from Evelyn in connection with this matter prove that not only was Evelyn himself a convert to his friend's opinions, but that the alarm which was excited among the orthodox clergy arose not so much from the supposed danger of the new doctrine thus advanced, as from the harm and scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed, if on account of its novelty, there were a colour given to the charge of Pelagianism so often brought against it as receiving support from the writings of one of its most distinguished champions.

From the letter of Taylor above referred to, which bears date November 17th, 1665, it is evident he was then free, and at his house at Mandinam, and as his letter to Warner, from which we have extracted a sentence as to his treatment while there, ascertains that he was in Chepstow Castle in the middle of September, the period of his confinement is thus computed by Heber to have been from May to October 1665.

During the next two years we can mainly trace our illustrious subject by occasional references in Evelyn's Diary, or by letters addressed by him to that celebrated antiquary, and printed in the Memoir of him already referred to. He appears to have varied a general residence at Golden Grove in South Wales with occasional visits to London when his limited means permitted the latter; and to have found himself under the necessity of accepting pecuniary assistance of a permanent nature from that good man, and, for occasional periods, from other friends. Being much affected by the death of two children—both boys, and of an interesting age, from smallpox and fever, he appears in 1657 to have left Wales and taken up his abode in the metropolis, where he "officiated to a small and private congregation of Episcopalians," and rejoiced in the occasional society of Evelyn and other friends, advancing in the preparation and republication of various works during his hours of leisure, as well as warring a controversy with various opponents—and chiefly with two presbyterian clergymen—who impugned his favourite theory as to the probable limitations of the generally accepted doctrine of the universally damnable consequences of original sin.

In January, 1658, we find him in London; but so uncertain are all traces of detail at this period of his life, that all we can tell the reader is, that he was again a prisoner, and in the Tower. The indiscretion of Royston had ventured so far as to offend the known prejudices of the uppermost party, by prefixing a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer, to his "collection of offices." A recent act of Cromwell's parliament had prohibited representations of this nature as scandalous and idolatrous. He seems, however, to have been soon released by the strong representations of Evelyn in his favour. By the following entry, we trace him to March. "March 7th. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed communion," &c. There is some reason to suspect that the commitment of Taylor may have been irregular, at least on some

subordinate authority, as Heber mentions in one of his notes that no traces of any order to this purpose appear in the minutes of the privy council. To account for this, he thinks it necessary to resort to the supposition that "in those arbitrary times, the committees and inferior agents of government exercised the power of imprisonment." In the same note he gives a letter written by Evelyn to the lieutenant of the Tower, which seems to involve such a probability. That Taylor's presence in London was still occasional, is inferred from the rareness of these notices of Evelyn's, and we think the inference not to be avoided: from this there is little if any deduction to be made on the consideration of the private nature of such occasions. It is generally indeed admitted by historical writers, that Cromwell was himself disinclined to measures of intolerance: our views of human nature as confirmed by historical precedent, would incline us to a similar belief: the sagacious usurper, who is raised to power by the prejudices of faction and the delusions of the people, is seldom quite sincere in his attachment to the violent moving principles by which he has been raised, and by which he may be reversed; the sooner he can allay the fluctuation of the waves, it will be his interest; and it is indeed thus that the extreme of licentious liberty so often terminates in the opposite of despotism. But Cromwell did not live to attain this consummation; the revolution which placed him on the seat of the British monarchy was yet to be completed by the exertions of his extraordinary vigilance, resolution and sagacity. The people of England had not been converted, but overwhelmed: and years of wise and successful government were wanting to set him free from the championship of fanaticism. The independents were the main column of his throne; the presbyterians, though they favoured his government, were far less certain, and though they were less formidable by their relations with the state and army, yet held a far larger base in the mind of the country. Jealous too of the influence, power, and favour of the independents, they showed many symptoms of a restless disposition to press upward and break in upon the actual circle of his power. It was therefore a subject of the most anxious care and watchfulness to give these ambitious and powerful parties no *common* causes of discontent. Hence, while he endeavoured to gain the utmost possible extent of goodwill, by the most unfettered licentiousness of conscience, in every direction not immediately offensive to any prevalent party, he felt himself compelled to the utmost stretches of tyranny to the episcopal churches. Such a state of things well accounts for the clandestine meetings of the members of the church of England, as well as for the little record which can be traced of them. It indeed also helps to explain the difficulty which we have noticed above on the subject of imprisonments apparently unwarranted. Cromwell was frequently compelled to act on private information or suspicion, and when it suited his purpose, showed no respect to the forms of state. He might desire to put a suspected loyalist out of the way for a few weeks without betraying him to the fanaticism of men like Harrison and Desborough, or the "three or four precious souls standing at his elbow," who were far more anxious for a spiritual tyranny of their own imagination, than for the power and safety of their master.

But the time had arrived which has left to Ireland the high privilege of numbering this excellent divine among her worthies. During some of his visits to London, he formed an acquaintance with lord Conway, who had been active in the service of the late king, and, according to Mr. Bonney's just conjecture, who was probably among the royalists who attended on his occasional ministry in London. This nobleman, feeling for the risks which Taylor incurred in the city, and possibly anxious to secure his services in the vicinity of his own extensive possessions, made him a proposal of which the nature can be inferred from the letter which he wrote on the occasion. This letter is imperfect from mutilation, a circumstance justly regretted by Heber, as he observes that the subject of usury is treated in it more rationally than was to be expected from a writer of his time.

Taylor felt a natural reluctance to quit the land of his birth and the home of so many good friends and endearing associations; but the attraction of new prospects is strong to one whose life has been always a combat with difficulties; and the prospects which now perhaps awakened his imagination were not without reasonable and strong foundation.

By the strong interest that was thus exerted for him, by the dangerous and unsettled condition of the church in England, and by the prospects of peace and competence, Taylor was, however reluctantly, induced to consent to the wishes of the earl of Conway, and accept of a lectureship in Lisburn. A house was provided for him on lord Conway's estate near the mansion of Portmore, a splendid and princely edifice, after a plan by Inigo Jones, and of which the stables alone now remain. Taylor is said to have divided his residence between Lisburn and this place. Here his time was divided between his lectures and preaching, and the earnest prosecution of his elaborate and anxious work, the "*Ductor Dubitantium*:" and with all his manifest disadvantages, it is impossible not to agree with Heber in viewing it as the happiest part of his life. Away from the painted shadows and illusive hopes which constitute the sum and substance of the troubled passing stream of the world, free to converse with self, nature and God, to meditate on the interests and hopes of the eternal world, and labour for the kingdom of Christ and the true welfare of mankind: such a state was, to one of Taylor's intensely active spirit, equivalent to an approach to that higher state in which the cares and sorrows of this fleeting scene may be forgotten. In such a state, it is true, none can be long suffered to remain without many and painful interruptions; but it is to be hoped at least, that those cares which are all connected with important duties, and with the exercises of the highest spiritual graces, are to be met with calmer fortitude, and more pure and strenuous labour, by those to whom it is thus allowed to gather strength and spirit in pious and contemplative retirement. Of some such frame of spirit Taylor's letters bear pleasing evidence. They at the same time curiously convey the strong indication of that interest which the remote noise of life carries into the "loopholes of retreat,"—a sense wholly distinct from the painful self-interestedness of those who are involved in the strife; and which, while it is not unpleasantly tinged with a softened gleam of hopes and wishes, is elevated by high affections, and soothed by the ordinary effect which

remoteness and isolation produce. The clash and din of human pursuits melt as it were into the murmur of the stream of ages, and the lapsing current of human things. But we are castle-building in Lough Neagh and Lough Beg: like some one of Hazlitt's table-talkers, we keep good company, and forget ourselves.

From the state of tranquil happiness which we have been assigning to Portmore, we are obliged reluctantly to make some considerable deductions. His means were far from that state of independence which is so permanently essential to comfort and peace of spirit: and he was compelled to receive the pension which the good and generous Evelyn still continued to pay, though from a diminished fortune. Taylor was also assailed by malice: a person of the name of Randy, a general agent residing in the neighbourhood, became jealous of the respect and kindness of which Taylor quickly became the general object. This chicaning miscreant felt his reptile self-importance wounded by the honour shown to one whose poverty he considered as the lowest demerit; and whose high virtues and noble understanding were beyond his comprehension. Nor was his eager malice slow to hunt out a vulnerable point: it was, he thought, enough to send information to the Irish privy council, that Taylor was a disaffected character, and had used the sign of the cross in baptism. Taylor was incapable of bringing home to his mind the small springs of party, and the little motives which so often govern the acts of councils and cabinets, and could not entertain any serious apprehension, though his friends were deeply alarmed.

The fears of Taylor and his good friends were, however, to be of short duration. He was brought to Dublin by a warrant directed to the governor of Carrickfergus: but he was subjected to no annoyance further than a fatiguing and harassing journey in very bad weather, of which the consequence was a severe fit of illness upon his arrival. He was thus, perhaps, saved from any further proceeding, as it is likely that during the interval of his indisposition, the members of the council had time to obtain more correct information, and a view of the matter more consistent with the real characters of the parties: Heber thinks that his illness was made a plea for "letting him off more easily."

Among the Irish peasantry, he was at the same time become an object of respect amounting to veneration; and evidently lived on terms of the kindest intercourse with them. This most creditable and praiseworthy circumstance appears to have been tortured by the high party prejudices of the Cromwellians into the old charge of a leaning to popery. This calumny he is mentioned to have complained of in his "Letters to persons who have changed their religion;" which, says Heber, "though not now published, appear to have been written at this time." The only work which he published in this year was the "Ephesian Matron," a story told by Petronius, and introduced into a previous work, the "Holy Living and Dying," from which Mr. Bonney thinks it to have been now extracted by the bookseller.

Taylor visited London early in 1660, with the design, it is supposed, to give the last revision to his "Ductor Dubitantium," then in the press: the thoughtful reader will easily conjecture a variety of inducements common to every man under similar circumstances, and from which we cannot see the necessity of assuming Taylor to have been altogether

exempt. Besides, the natural desire which a man of letters, and a man of many strong affections, must ever feel to visit the centre of literary resort, and the scene of many ties of regard and respect: the moment was pregnant with vast interest in every way for a known loyalist of his reputation, and old connexion with the court. His journey, says Heber, "was as well-timed as if he was in the secret of Monk's intentions." Of these intentions a general surmise pervaded the kingdom, and was, as sometimes occurs, more lively in places more remote from the centre. The people formed opinions from their earnest wishes, and from a common feeling of the tendency of events not beyond the reach of popular common sense—while they were unimpressed by several expedients with which Monk disguised his intentions from those who might be supposed to watch him most narrowly. It is thus that those who are nearest and most concerned are often the last to divine what is to come.

On the 24th April, 1660, the day before the meeting of that parliament which, in a few days, restored the kingdom, there was a meeting of the loyalists of London and its environs, who issued a declaration of the sentiments expressive of their confidence in Monk. Among the signatures to this declaration, was that of Jeremy Taylor. He was thus placed in the most advantageous point of view before the king and his advisers: and with pretensions to notice not exceeded by those of any other member of his profession; the splendour of his reputation both as a preacher and writer; the exalted worth of his character; his signal piety; the devotion with which he had served the late king, and the persecutions he had suffered in consequence of his well approved loyalty, were all matters too notorious to be overlooked; nor had the moment yet arrived when Charles, with the proverbial ingratitude of princes, felt privileged to overlook past merits. The shortlived ebullition of royal gratitude lasted long enough for the exaltation of Taylor; to whose claims we should have added one the most likely to be serviceable, that he had gained the respect and approbation even of his enemies. A motive of a different kind, though not less a tribute to his worth, is thought by Heber or some of his authorities, to have influenced the generosity of Charles—he was as anxious to remove the christian moralist, as Cromwell to remove the loyalist: if so, he could not have fallen upon a better expedient, than to improve upon the Protector's example and send the subject whose virtues were sufficient to overawe an usurped throne, and a licentious court, to Ireland. How far the dedication of his great work may have had its share is little worth computing, as it is morally improbable that either Charles, or any one about him, ever spent a second thought on the matter; and finally, to say what we think, we presume that the only moving influence was the first impulse of the restored monarch to give satisfaction to those whose office of restorers was not quite concluded before Taylor's appointment to the Bishoprick of Down and Connor. This took place on the 6th August, 1650, a little more than two months from the king's arrival, when he was nominated by the privy seal, and immediately after by the influence of the Duke of Ormonde elected vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin.

This appointment was not unsatisfactory to Taylor, whose affections

had already been strongly called forth to Ireland and its people, whom he loved, and who returned his regard: there he had passed the most calm and settled years of his life—his family was already there and like himself won to the place. His promotion was still not unattended with a host of disadvantages and difficulties; the Irish church was yet in a state of disorganization; its revenues dilapidated and its order and discipline dissolved and disarrayed. The state of the university was no less ruinous: the Cromwellian government had both seized upon its estates, of which large portions had been alienated, and obtruded unfit persons into its fellowship, by arbitrary appointments or irregular elections. There was at the time of Taylor's appointment, not one fellow or scholar who had been legally elected. Taylor proposed, as the only practicable course under such circumstances, that he, the archbishop of Dublin, and the new provost appointed by the crown, should be empowered to elect seven senior fellows. The Marquess of Ormonde, however, was reluctant to suffer a power which he considered to be placed in his own hands, to devolve to any other authority; but still considering Taylor's proposal as substantially the more expedient procedure, he desired that he and the provost would recommend five persons, who might be appointed by himself, as minister of the crown in Ireland. Such was the course adopted; it presented an opportunity to Taylor of providing for his friend Dr Sterne. This person was in fact incapacitated by marriage as the statutes then stood: but Taylor pleaded for him the difficulty of finding persons qualified by their learning to fill such a station. Thus he had the satisfaction of obtaining for his friend a station of honourable independence suited to his tastes and acquirements. By the statement of Carte, Sterne appears to have been connected with the university: he was living in a house which belonged to it, and was largely acquainted with its constitution and affairs, so that Taylor was justified in the representation, that his experience was indispensable for their purpose. The other appointments were Joshua Cowley, Richard Singard, William Vincent, and Patrick Sheridan: these appointments formed the nucleus for the restoration of our university. The chancellor could in virtue of his office give them the necessary degrees; but their power as a legal corporation to exercise an ownership over the college estate could only come from the crown. This was, however, quickly arranged, and it only remained to re-establish and complete the statutes and discipline of the university. This weighty task was committed to the hands of Taylor, who probably availed himself largely of the experience of his friend Dr Sterne. He collected, arranged, and revised the statutes left incomplete by Bedell, and settled the forms and the course of studies and lectures; thus, says Bishop Heber, "laying the basis of that distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since attained."

In his diocese the labours of Taylor were far more arduous. There he was encountered by obstacles sufficient to neutralize ordinary effort, ability, or virtue. These obstacles we have already had to dwell upon, and shall not therefore return to them here. Suffice it to say, that the diffusion of puritanism the known effect of the recent convulsions, prevailed most in the diocese of Down. The episcopal

clergy had been swept away, and their places supplied from the ranks of those dissenters who, while they differed in forms, agreed in doctrine with the protestant church. But as Heber justly remarks, their animosity appeared to be great in proportion to the minuteness of the essential causes of disagreement: and it was by slow degrees that the patient and charitable deportment, the exemplary life and able conduct of the bishop succeeded in gaining over the opinion of the laity to his side. They witnessed his exertions to soften, by candour and kindness, the hostility by which his first advances were opposed: they justly appreciated the rejection of his invitations to settle by conference the points of disagreement. In reply to all his kindness, his patience, his liberality, eloquence and laborious exertion, the pulpits of his diocese resounded with denunciation and defiance: the preachers even carried their hostility so far as to enter into a compact among themselves "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." Such virulence, without any proportioned occasion, could not stand the test of that common sense which in ordinary times prevails in the reasonable portion of society: and at length the nobility and gentry of the united dioceses came over to the bishop. And even upon the clergy themselves such was the influence of his character and conduct, and so well directed his efforts, that the same effect was produced, though more slowly: so that when the act of uniformity was soon after passed, the greater number were found to be exempt from any consequence of its operation.

It was not only by his wise and christian conduct in the discharge of his episcopal duties, that Taylor displayed the combined wisdom and moderation of temper and spirit which composed his character. He had been appointed in this critical juncture of restoration and reaction, to preach before the two houses of parliament; and availed himself of the occasion to inculcate sentiments of mercy and moderation where they were most wanting: while at the same time he reproved the captious and violent spirit of dissent which appeared to menace the existence of christianity itself, in a country in which every christian grace seemed to have been parched and blasted, by the long prevalent rancour of spiritual contention. He pointed out in forcible terms, the inconsistency of those who were zealous even to blood for forms, costumes, and phrases; while they seemed forgetful of christian holiness and charity, and substituted the gall and wormwood of human hate, for that love by which the followers of their Master were to be known. In consistence with such exhortations he set before his auditors the wide-spreading calamities and sufferings which must needs follow on the execution of the then impending confiscations. He cautioned them against being biassed by interest, or by the thoughts of revenge, or the love of spoil, or by prejudice or pretended zeal,—or being warped from justice, by the sense of supposed national interests, or by the pretences of different religion. By an affecting image, he reminded them of the inconsistency of human affections and sympathies, and recalled their feelings to the truth. "If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave, a little before her intended marriage, an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they

sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws,—and you must be as merciful as your religion—and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount—do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!”

Under the pressure of such trying difficulties which demanded so largely the exertion of his thoughts and the devotion of his time, there must needs have been comparatively little time for the pursuits of literature: the following letter adverts to his writings during this interval.

John Evelyn, Esq.

“Deare Sir,—

“Your own worthiness and the obligations you have so passed upon me, have imprinted in me so great a value and kindness to your person, that I thinke myself not a little concerned in yourselfe, and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shall we expect your ‘Terrestrial Paradise,’ your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your own kind hand, and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent (an) idea; for as a father in his son’s face, so is a man’s soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publike concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the Bookseller) hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had been presented to you if I had thought (them) fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

“Deare Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his.

“I am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate friend,
“JEREM. DUNENSIS.”

This letter, we are informed by Heber, is the last which has been discovered of the correspondence between these two eminent persons, which had been continued so many years, and which is so honourable a testimony to both. It is supposed by the bishop to have first slackened on the part of Evelyn; but we think it unnecessary to assume on this ground any diminution of regard. Such fallings off are unhappily too frequent a result of human affections, and we cordially subscribe to the just and eloquent reflection of Heber, on the proof thus afforded: "how vain is that life, when even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay," &c. But, though this sad condition of our state must be admitted for a common truth, yet we are inclined to make a favourable exception for the nobler, and, above all, the holier spirits, whose paths in life are to be traced throughout in deeds of charity, and in the exercise of the best affections. The growing selfishness of human pursuits soon corrupts and withers the youthful affections, by which it is moderated for a few years; and having gained the supremacy, ejects all rival regards, and makes a sad cold void of the heart. But there is a far more obvious and honourable view of that estrangement, which so often occurs between the noblest friends: as life advances, its cares and duties thicken upon our paths with a strength proportioned to that of the man; while our powers and energies, from the moment of the highest pressure, or mostly sooner, begin, with an accelerating rapidity, to decline. Engagements multiply, and languor increases; while the fervid impulse of youthful passions ceases to administer its fuel. The difficulties of letter-writing will thus ever be found to present a serious obstacle to the prolongation of intercourse between the most tried friends; for, unless where there is a natural predisposition to epistolary garrulity, the mere want of matter, and the energy of spirit which moves to thinking and language, will be found sufficient reason for procrastination, which must soon necessarily amount to cessation. Before they arrive at the maturity of experience, wise men have learned the emptiness of human speculations, and the narrow limit of their faculties: experience has made common the trite iterations of life, and thrown the vail of impenetrable darkness over the unfathomed vastitudes beyond it. The anxious confidences of hope and fear have departed; there is no impulse to communicate the "weariness" of age. Such is the general tendency, which in every special case has some peculiar cause of increase or diminution.

In the same year, Taylor had to sustain a heavy affliction, in the loss of the only surviving son of his second marriage, who was buried at Lisburn, 10th March, 1661. Little can be ascertained concerning his private history during this interval of his life; and we can do no more than mention the few incidents which have escaped oblivion. He rebuilt the choir of his cathedral church of Dromore at his own expense, and his wife contributed the communion plate. He also at the same time invited over George Rust, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, with a promise of the deanery of Connor, then expected to become soon vacant. He continued to reside at Portmore, where he preserved his close intimacy with the Conway family, and rendered himself beloved by the people of all ranks through the surrounding district, by

his benevolence and the ready kindness of his charity, and the affability of his address and conversation. Heber observes, that the only particulars which can be gleaned of his life in this place are due to his connexion with a ghost story, which has found its way into the records of human superstition. It is related that, in the year 1662, on the eve of Michaelmas day, a spirit appeared to one Francis Taverne, a servant of lord Donegal, on horseback and dressed in a white coat, and made certain disclosures to him for the purpose of recovering the rights of an orphan son, who had been fraudulently or wrongfully deprived by his mother's second husband. This curious tale may be found in the fullest detail in the notes to Heber's life of Taylor. We should willingly extract it here, but from the necessity which we feel to avoid protracting this memoir with stories, of which there is a full abundance to be found in numerous popular works. It would be still more in character with the plan on which these memoirs are written, to dwell on the curious moral and intellectual phenomena connected with this class of traditions; their early prevalence in human history; the remarkable analogy which seems to pervade them, so as to offer something like that traceable law of occurrence which is the usual indication of some causal principle; and, finally, to point out the errors in reasoning on either side, to which the credulous and incredulous classes of mankind, standing at the opposite extremes of error, are led by their several prejudices and prepossessions. For this end, we shall, indeed, be enabled to avail ourselves of a better occasion, though on a different topic.

It was remarked, with some bitterness, that Taylor took a part in this affair, which seemed to indicate that he did not quite discredit the story. But it is evident that no such inference could be drawn from any course pursued by one, who may have felt it advisable to propose the tests best adapted for the exposure of a fraud, to those who might be more easily deceived. Heber observes, and shows that his writings afford strong ground for an opposite inference. But we do not think the point of any moment. Taylor clearly exhibits his disbelief, by the use of arguments, which, like all those we have ever met, are not very conclusive. It is unfortunately an old pervading error of human reason, to consider all questions as within its cognizance, and in default of satisfactory proofs or disproofs, to consider it legitimate to apply the nearest that can be found; and overlook the sure law, that the conclusion, on either side, cannot be more certain than the premises.

There is a question of more importance, connected with a sermon which Taylor preached this year before the university, in which he has set his notions of toleration on a most clear and just ground. According to this view, the just limit of toleration is to be found in the just conservation of social interests: in any society, whether lay or ecclesiastical, the first right is that of self-preservation, without which neither churches nor states can stand. Those, therefore, who hold tenets practically inconsistent with the body politic or ecclesiastical, cannot be entertained as constituent members of that body. Such appears to be the inexpugnable ground on which Taylor took his stand, equally remote from those who are governed by sectarian feelings and revolutionary licence. Heber quotes two passages, one from

the "Liberty of Propheying," and the other from the sermon here noticed, to show the consistency of his views at the several periods.

In 1663, Taylor published "A Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," which he dedicated to the duke of Ormonde—three sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, and the funeral sermon on the death of primate Bramhall, "full," says Heber, "of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen."

He was also at the same time engaged on the last work which he lived to publish, the "Dissuasive from Popery," a work undertaken at the desire of the Irish bishops. Much success from such efforts to enlighten the poor Irish was not to be hoped; and Taylor, who undertook the task with some reluctance, was not sanguine in his expectations. He had the sagacity to perceive that truths so obvious to all unprejudiced minds, and prejudices which were identified with political distinctions, and with the national feelings to which such distinctions gave birth and permanency, were not to be reduced by reason. He also perceived the hopelessness of such a reliance, in the peculiar situation of the people, when the only provision for their instruction was in a language of which they were then totally ignorant. And thus, while their pride and affections were bruised and outraged by a policy of which they could in some degree feel the consequences, they were left in total darkness as to the grounds, form, and worship, of the religion which was pressed upon them solely as the religion of a people they were taught to hate. Some efforts had been made to redeem our countrymen from this afflicting condition. Usher, Bedell, and afterwards Boyle, attempted, by promoting a knowledge of the Irish tongue among the clergy, or by translations of the Scripture and liturgy, to break down the wall which shut in the people within their enclosure of superstition and barbarism. But such efforts were more difficult than can at first sight be calculated; and Heber observes, with truth, that even to our own times the evil has been suffered to continue. The English government, he observes, preferred the policy of endeavouring to enforce the dissemination of the English language. Such an object we consider of the utmost importance to the civilization of the country; but we think it a fatal truth, and a fundamental error in the policy of the English government, then and at all times, to adopt practically the false principle, that it is the part of human policy to overlook altogether the spiritual interests of the country. When we admit the nice limits and exceeding difficulties attendant on the due consideration of those interests, under many combinations of circumstances, it is not with the least admission of any qualification of this important truth. The policy of governments, when not (as in modern times) viewed as a shallow game, within the comprehension of any order of ignorance, is, of all branches of human knowledge, the most abounding with difficulties and complications, which task to the utmost, and often defy, the best qualities of the human mind, whether moral or intellectual. Had not the English government been ever more earnest to reduce the Irish people to a low state of subjection than to make them prosperous and

bring them to God, both objects had been long since attained. We must however add, what could not be as fully known to Bishop Heber, the knowledge of the English tongue is widely prevalent among the Irish peasantry. We may even add, that under the influence of later events, and the strenuous efforts which have been long making by religious societies and individuals for their instruction, the real mind and spirit of the Irish people has within recent years undergone a vast, but silent, and, therefore, yet unknown change—a change, indeed, not yet apprehended by themselves. Of this we shall take occasion to speak more fully and explicitly hereafter. But, reverting here to Taylor and his time, he justly remarks on the same topic—"The Roman religion is here among us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii*—a people of one language, and unmingled with others," &c.

After a life signalized by valuable labours, by christian talents, and graces of the highest order, shown as remarkably in sufferings, privations, and sad bereavements, as in prosperity; and after a career no less exemplary by the humbler, but not less acceptable, lessons of humility, patience, and charity, than by the faithful discharge of the duties of a high and important station,—Bishop Taylor died on the 13th August, 1667, in the 55th year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were interred under the communion table in the cathedral church of Dromore. It is mentioned by Heber, that they were afterwards disturbed, to make room for those of other bishops; but Bishop Mant, on satisfactory grounds, clearly shows the statement to be quite erroneous.* More founded was the complaint that there existed no monument to mark the last abode of so much worth and genius, in a church on which Taylor himself had expended large sums for its repair and improvement. Bishop Percy had designed to repair this disgraceful want, but was prevented by the rapid increase of bodily infirmity and decay. We are however enabled to add, on the authority of Bishop Mant, a successor in the same diocese, that this reproach "has been removed by the clergy of the united diocese of Down and Connor, who, in the year 1727, placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn, a white marble tablet commemorative of the most renowned bishop of the see, appropriately decorated on each side by a crosier, and above by a sarcophagus, on which is laid the Holy Bible, surmounted by a mitre—indicating his principle and rule of action by the Latin motto, applied to that purpose by himself in his lifetime," &c. This motto is as follows:—

Non magna loquimur sed vivimus;
Nihil opinionis gratia, omnia conscientię faciam.

After which there follows a longer English inscription, expressive of the sense entertained by the inscribers of Taylor's character. This inscription is worthy of extraction here, both for its discriminate truth and the eloquence of its composition, which will lose nothing by our economy of space, in omitting the customary arrangement of such in-

* History of the Irish Church, p. 673, vol. I.

scriptions. There is a good engraving of the monument itself in Bishop Mant's work, from which we transcribe these lines:—

“Not to perpetuate the memory of one whose works will be his most enduring memorial, but that there may not be wanting a public testimony to his memory in the diocese which derives honour from his superintendence, this tablet is inscribed with the name of JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., who, on the restoration in MDCLX of the British church and monarchy, in the fall of which he had partaken, having been promoted to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and having presided for seven years in that see, as also over the adjoining diocese of Dromore, which was soon after intrusted to his care, on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry, died at Lisburn, August 13, MDCLXVII, in the 55th year of his age; leaving behind him a renown second to that of none of the illustrious sons whom the Anglican church, rich in worthies, has brought forth. As a bishop, distinguished for munificence and vigilance truly episcopal; as a theologian, for piety the most ardent, learning the most extensive, and eloquence inimitable; in his writings, a persuasive guide to earnestness of devotion, uprightness of practice, and christian forbearance and toleration; a powerful assertor of episcopal government and liturgical worship, and an able expositor of the errors of the Romish church; in his manners, a pattern of his own rules of Holy Living and Holy Dying; and a follower of the great Exemplar of Sanctity, as pourtrayed by him in the person of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

“Reader, though it fall not to thy lot to attain the intellectual excellence of this master in Israel, thou mayest rival him in that which was the highest scope even of his ambition, an honest conscience and a christian life.

“This tablet was inscribed by the bishop and clergy of Down and Connor, in the year of our Lord 1727.”

A funeral sermon preached by his chaplain and successor, Rust, affords a just and clear view of the life, character, and genius of this extraordinary man. It is difficult, if not impossible, for human praise to afford any just reflection of that piety and those exalted christian graces, which can only be truly estimated in the balance of eternal wisdom. Goodness, the fruit of divine grace, demands no profound intellectual powers to ripen or sustain it, nor is it adequately to be described in those gaudy tints which decorate the painted show of earthly vanities; but Taylor's genius was itself cast in a spiritual mould, and all his splendid and varied gifts were harmonized together, and exalted, by the one pervading and characteristic spirit. The angel temper seemed, for once at least, infused into a frame endowed with angelic capacities—such as not often are found separately, far more rarely together, in the composition of human character. A deep and spacious intellect, rapid, apprehensive, and vigorous—a fancy, alert, profuse, and ready—an imagination which seemed to wield and bring together at will, the world of life, form, and circumstance: with

these, the exhaustless command of all the resources and sympathies of taste, passion, and sentiment, and the copious and well-tuned elocution which is but a result of such endowments. In some, a combination of such powers might have its sphere in some immortal epic or dramatic work; in others, as circumstances led, they might be lost in the fruitless mazes of metaphysical speculation; but in him, they were aptly framed together by the one ever-presiding control of a pure and holy spirit. It would be difficult to find a succession of literary productions indicating throughout so much vivacity of impulse, and exuberance of fancy, with so uniform a sobriety of reason and steadiness of purpose. Something of all this seems to have been equally manifested in the entire of his conduct, manner, and deportment. It might indeed be anticipated, but the sermon of Rust contains many expressions of it. The following seems to be the language of lively rhetorical exaggeration, but is, doubtless, merely descriptive:—"To sum up all, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for a university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his clergy whom he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas! our Father! our Father! the horses of Israel and the chariots thereof! he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven," &c. By the way—from this specimen of a discourse, which offers no bad imitation of Taylor's own style, some small fragment of the orator's mantle must have fallen to his successor. We select some further passages, which may serve to give more precise ideas of this illustrious christian scholar than the above strain, which, though far from being inappropriate, yet carries the form of rhetorical enumeration into some strangely assorted combinations. "Nature," says Bishop Rust, "had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuousness; and there was so much soul and fineness in his wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words; and his very tone and cadences were unusually musical." After some further commemoration of these and other striking and great endowments, the bishop proceeds: "To these advantages of nature, and excellence of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was an excellent humanist, and highly versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian."

Among other accomplishments of learning, Rust mentions his

thorough acquaintance with "the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church." After dwelling on the eminence of his Christian attainments, and that exemplary devotion which rendered all other distinctions comparatively nothing in his own estimation, the orator proceeds: "He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, learning, and eminence of place, he had nothing in him of pride and honour, but was courteous, affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, even to the impertinences of the meanest people. His humility was coupled with extraordinary piety; and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life."* His charity is inferred from the largeness of his income, compared with the little left to his family. On this it is mentioned by Ware, that having saved moderate portions for his daughters, he distributed all the rest to the poor.

Of the writings of Taylor we have made as much mention as our space admits. The subjects of many of the controversies in which he took an active part are such, in some cases, as to prescribe silence in a work designed for many classes, while in others we have briefly recorded our opinion. On the general character of his eloquence there is not much to be added: it was such as might be inferred as the result of such a combination of moral and intellectual characters as we have described: it is, indeed, chiefly from his writings that we have been enabled to reason out the features of his mind; and the peculiarities of his style must nearly suggest the repetition of the same language which we have used or extracted. The copious and somewhat exuberant play of allusion which appears to seize on every incident, or element of theory, or fancy, or recorded fact, or saying, which comes even remotely within reach of his line of march, is such as to display a boundless expansion of mind, and a spacious grasp of knowledge, as well as to indicate the warmth and intensity of spirit, which could excite so much activity of the whole mind. He seems to be involved in the peculiar atmosphere of his subject, and to write with a wholeness and sincerity of heart, not often attained by the orator or author. In most compositions, it is not easy for the experienced and critical reader to avoid the impression constantly produced by the perception of the artifices of style, and the too obvious exposure of the resources of art. There is nothing of this unpleasant qualification in the eloquence of Taylor: for, although he seems to disport with facility in the most striking and splendid, harmonious and most dexterous dispositions of language, yet these appear to be but the dictate of instinctive taste, and a portion of the rolling torrent of allusions, comparisons, and arguments, which seem unselected and unsought, and rather the result of impulse than volition. Such a character of style, so curiously adapted to the form of the intellect in which it had its origin, was, it should here be recollected, in a great degree favoured by the taste of Taylor's age,—a consideration necessary to redeem it from the charge of defects and excesses which are not tolerated in our more precise and succinct method of composi-

* Rust's Discourse, quoted here from Mr Bonney.

tion. To this point we shall have an opportunity of reverting, with the fulness which it demands: the precise trim of modern composition which rejects superfluity, and requires the utmost nicety of distinction the greatest exactness of application, and the most orderly array in the succession of thoughts, was then unconceived. The characteristic effort, by which the modern is compelled to govern and restrain the first cloud of conception which rushes upon the intellect, to weigh in a scrupulous balance, and to reject with rigid control all that too remotely, too slightly, or superfluously supports his main design, had then no existence in the rhetoric of the English tongue. There seemed no reason why the whole torrent of suggestion should not be admitted in those elastic sentences, and immeasurable periods, in which it was the pride and delight of eloquent speakers and writers, to sport freely, and tumble like leviathan in the vasty deep. To scatter free and liberal flowers, and pour forth the fulness of extensive reading, was in some degree also the criterion of genius: and though now rejected for finer tests, it then produced a vast and powerful effect not now to be measured without much reflection. Though a false analogy, or a grotesque allusion, may now excite a smile, it was then received without question; in part because it appealed to less disciplined imaginations, and partly because it displayed power, and partly because it gratified the taste. If it contained no argument, it was at least a striking manner of expressing what the argument was: and was not, as would be likely to happen now, a mere substitution. We have the more dwelt on this consideration as Taylor's writings are recently published in forms which give them a chance of again attracting the public. Many may be offended prematurely by peculiarities which are become faults, and conclude wrongfully, to the discredit of one of the most just and acute writers of our language: while still more may fall into an error, far more to be lamented, and mistake those faults for excellencies; an error the more likely, because it is among those readers who are most likely to be attracted by the spirit of Taylor, that many corruptions of language are yearly springing up, to the great diminution of their influence on society.

We mentioned the death of one of Taylor's sons to have occurred a little before his own: another, the last who remained, died soon after in England. His widow survived many years. He left three daughters: of whom the second, Mary, was married to Dr Francis Marsh, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. The third, Joanna, married a Mr Harrison, of Maraleve, &c. Heber gives some interesting accounts of their descendants.

So far as any judgment can be formed from his numerous portraits, Taylor appears to have been "above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance."* There is yet an original portrait of him in All Souls' College, presented by Mrs Wray, of Ann's Vale, near Rosstrevor.

* Heber.

FRANCIS MARSH, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A.D. 1627.—DIED A.D. 1693.

FRANCIS MARSH, the subject of the present memoir, was a native of Gloucestershire, and was early distinguished for his classical attainments. He was elected a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he remained during the protectorate, seeking neither for employment or promotion from a government to whose views he was politically and conscientiously opposed. Among the loyalists, however, his talents, virtues, and learning, were duly appreciated; and, on the restoration, he had the distinguished honour of being selected and sought for by Jeremy Taylor, on his promotion to the see of Down and Connor, who, after admitting him successively into deacon's and priest's orders, presented him to the deanery of that diocese. In the following year, through the instrumentality of the lord Chancellor Hyde, he was advanced to the deanery of Armagh, with which was combined the archdeaconry of Dromore. These offices he held until 1667, when he was promoted to the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. In about five years from this period, he was translated to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1681 he was advanced to the dignity of archbishop of Dublin. These high and rapidly succeeding promotions were alluded to by the bishop of Meath, when preaching his funeral sermon, as tests of his merit, for he says, "this archbishop has been rather courted by preferments, than a solicitor of them, which ought therefore to give a due value and esteem to his memory and reputation." It is, however, fair to state, that he brings forward less questionable grounds for praise, as he not only speaks of his great learning, but adds, that he was "affable, mild, grave, and of an unblamable life." Having been appointed treasurer to St Patrick's, he took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean, but he subsequently resigned this office in favour of his son. After the accession of James, and the unfortunate substitution of Tyrconnel for Clarendon in the government of Ireland, the latter resigned the sword of state to the new viceroy, in the archbishop's palace, where the council were assembled, and where he delivered an impressive and affecting speech, exhorting him to adopt the same course of impartial justice towards protestants, that he had himself practised towards the opposite party: this, his previous conduct, while lieutenant-general, made more than unlikely, and "never was a sword washed with so many tears as this," which Clarendon laid down. The worst fears of the protestants were quickly realized, and the reign of terror, of injustice, and of blood, which followed, obliged all of any eminence or virtue, to fly a country where these very qualities and attainments made them only the more prominently obnoxious to oppression or to death. The archbishop accordingly removed with his wife and family to England, and nominated the celebrated Dr William King to act as his commissary in his absence, and to superintend and protect the interests of that diocese, over which he was subsequently destined to rule. King, probably

fearing that his unaided efforts would be insufficient to oppose the innovations and unjust interference of the popular party, declined the appointment, on the ground of its not having been legally executed. It was accordingly arranged that the chapters should elect Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, manager and superintendent of the diocese, in the arduous duties of which office he was ably assisted by Dr King.

On the abdication of James, the archbishop returned to Dublin, and at his own expense repaired, enlarged, and beautified the palace of St Sepulchre's. He did not however live long to enjoy the happy period that succeeded, when each could again "sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree," but, being attacked by apoplexy, died in 1693, and was buried in Christ's church, his funeral sermon being preached, as before mentioned, by the bishop of Meath. The vacant archbishopric was offered to Dr Tenison, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury, but some obstacles arising to this appointment, it was given in the year following to Dr Narcissus Marsh, a man of great prudence and learning, and though of the same name, apparently no relative to his predecessor.

NARCISSUS MARSH, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A. D. 1638.—DIED A. D. 1713.

THE family of Dr Narcissus Marsh was ancient, and of Saxon origin; and maternally he was descended from the Colburns of Dorsetshire. He was born at Hannington, near Highworth in Wiltshire, in December 1638, at which town he was educated, and removed from thence to Oxford in 1654. After taking the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity, he took that of Dr of Divinity in 1671; and seven years after took the same degree in Dublin college. He was appointed chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and also subsequently became chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, to which appointment many of his future preferments may be traced. He was early distinguished as a person of learning and sound understanding, and was selected by the duke of Ormonde, when chancellor of Oxford, as principal of St Alban's hall; and being a very accomplished preacher, he was generally chosen on public occasions to preach anniversary sermons, especially such as in those times required tact and judgment. In 1678 he was nominated by the duke to the provostship of Dublin college, which office he held for four years, and resigned it on being promoted to the bishopric of Ferns, where he lived in undisturbed retirement; "repairing churches, planting curates where wanting, and doing what good he could," until king James ascended the throne. His own very interesting manuscript diary, which is preserved in the library which he subsequently founded in Dublin, and which will cause his name to be long honoured and remembered, gives the details of his persecutions, vicissitudes, and escapes, at this period; and is also a painful record of the pecuniary aids he gratefully enumerates as having received in his flight, difficulties, and destitution. His house was beset at midnight by a party of

soldiers, from whom he with difficulty escaped; and having reached Dublin, obtained shelter from the provost, until he in his turn was compelled to fly with his family—when not having money to procure himself the common necessities of life, and being threatened with destruction if he attempted to return to his diocese, he fled to London, where he says, “I was kindly received by the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London and others; but especially by the bishop of St Asaph, who bestowed on me the parish of Gretford for my support under that calamity; and by the bishop of Salisbury, Dr Burnet, who earnestly invited me several times to be at his house until I might return to Ireland. The bishop of Lincoln also presented me with five guineas. The Lord remember them all for their kindness to the distressed.” During his stay in London, notwithstanding all his own anxieties and difficulties, he exerted himself actively and successfully for his suffering brethren, who had to fly from the bloody persecution then raging in Ireland, and who were less fortunate, being unknown and unprotected. After spending some months in London, he received an invitation from his old friend, Dr Bury, rector of Exeter college, of which he had been himself a probationer fellow. He remained with him for nine months, during which time he says he was “furnished with all necessities both by the Doctor and his wife, and by Mrs Guise, their daughter;” and when he was at length leaving these faithful friends, Mrs Bury offered him twenty guineas, which he says he refused, as “having no present occasion,” the bishop of London having just sent him the same sum.

Upon the happy event of the abdication of king James, the bishop returned to Ireland, and was shortly afterwards promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel. In his new character of metropolitan, he consecrated Dr Nathaniel Foy, bishop of Waterford,—he being one of those dignitaries who had incurred both risk, contumely, and imprisonment, for his firm and uncompromising adherence to the protestant faith; and in the archbishop’s diary, he expresses his “great hopes,” which were ultimately realized, that this newly consecrated prelate might be “made an instrument of God’s great glory.” In his first visitation sermon, this truly christian archbishop pressed upon his clergy their plain and practical duties, charging them in those dark and unawakened times, not to wait until they were formally summoned by the sick and dying, but to seek for and anticipate such calls: for he adds, “besides the necessity of doing so in that extreme exigence for the direction of a parting soul in the right way to heaven, how incongruous is it that the sick persons should put you in mind of your duty; whereas you ought to put them in mind of theirs.” He further says, “I shall only add hereto, that you should be very cautious how you behave yourselves towards men on their death-beds; that you neither run them into despair, that you do not send some to hell with false hopes, and let others go to heaven without any.”

In 1694, he was advanced to the see of Dublin, and in his diary he thus notices this event.

“April 20. The news came to Cork, while I was there (on his triennial visitation), that their majesties were pleased to declare I should be translated to the see of Dublin; and accordingly the king’s

letter was sent over for that purpose. and all this without my knowledge, or any means used by me for obtaining it. O Lord, thy ways are wonderful: and as this is thy sole doing, so I beseech thee to grant me sufficient assistance of thy Holy Spirit, to enable me to perform the work which thou hast assigned me. Amen."

He was accordingly enthroned in St Patrick's cathedral the following month, and applied himself, with conscientious earnestness, to the performance of the more extended duties and responsibilities which then devolved upon him. He directed his clergy scrupulously to attend to the instruction of the young, and enlarged upon and enforced their various practical duties, with the same zeal and primitive simplicity he had done at Cashel. His own efforts were laboriously and judiciously directed to the correction of abuses on a large scale; and the extreme age of the primate, incapacitating him from giving any assistance in the affairs of the church made the labour more oppressive. This is alluded to in a letter quoted by Bishop Mant, from a correspondence between him and Dr J. Smith, preserved in the Bodleian library, of which the following are extracts:—

"We having parliaments but seldom in Ireland, it might be supposed that here is occasion for many acts to be passed when we do meet; all which are prepared in this council, and sent to that in England before they can be brought into our parliament to be passed into laws; and my lord primate being above eighty-seven years old, and almost deprived of his sight and hearing, you cannot imagine but the weight of business to prepare bills to be passed into acts of parliament; for the church which nobody but churchmen will mind, hath lain and still doth lie heavy upon me; insomuch that for some months past I have not been able to command almost a minute's time from many bills prepared for the good of our church; whereof some are already passed, and the others I hope will suddenly be passed into laws, for the better establishment of this poor distressed church." In another letter, he states that he is occupied from ten to eleven hours every day, preparing in conjunction with some other bishops and privy councillors, those bills for parliament; and in a third, dated May 4th, 1700, about a year after holding the office of lord justice, he says, "it must be a great goodness in you to pardon my neglects, which I do still confess, promise amendment, and then do worse. But all arises from an unhappy circumstance that I do usually labour under. Worldly business is that which above all things I do hate; and that the more, because the affairs of the church, as things now stand, and during my lord primate's inability to act in his station, create me as much business as I can conveniently turn under. When I was dismissed last summer from the charge of the government, I hoped to be ever hereafter free from things of that nature. But Providence disposed of me out of one trouble into another; for our lord chancellor was no sooner summoned by the parliament in England, but I was appointed first commissioner for keeping the broad seal, which hath found me employment; that I hope will be over in a few weeks, that so I may be at some liberty to write to my friends."

Among his numerous efforts for the benefit of this country, there is one which must claim precedence of all the rest, not only from its last-

ing utility, but from the peculiar sacrifices that it involved. This was the building, endowing, and furnishing, a noble library for the express benefit of the public, in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. The account of the origin, progress, and completion of this great design, along with the unexpected obstacles encountered and combated by the archbishop, are given with much interest and simplicity by his own pen, in Bishop Mant's work. The conception of this scheme appears to date almost from his accession to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, but was not effectively carried out until some ten years afterwards; nor even until some two or three years after he had been translated from that see to the primacy of Ireland and see of Armagh. It appears that the house assigned to the archbishop in Dublin, otherwise sufficiently spacious, had neither a chapel nor library assigned to it, and it was the design of His Grace to build a chapel for the family and a larger library for the use of the public.

To secure the perpetuity of this institution, the primate determined to have some bills prepared and passed through parliament for the purpose, but in doing so, met most unexpected and vexatious opposition from some of the members of his own profession;* notwithstanding this, he says, in a letter to Dr Smith, "It passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was very kindly and favourably received. Amongst other clauses, this statute declares the premises for ever discharged of and free from all manner of taxes already imposed, or thereafter to be imposed, by act of parliament, unless the same shall thereon be charged expressly and by name. In the mean time, the dissenting lords entered their protestation against it, with such reasons as the House of Lords thought to be very reflective on them, and therefore, at the next session immediately voted those dissenting lords should be sent prisoners to the castle, unless they would withdraw their reasons, which accordingly they did, and all was quiet.

"In the mean time, the House of Commons passed my bill, without any man's opposing it, or, as they say, *nemine contradicente*, and presently voted that a committee of eight of their members should be appointed, to give me the thanks of the house for my benefactions, which was accordingly done out of hand. The lords, knowing this, presently voted the same, and pitched upon the dissenting lords to do it, for their mortification. But only one of them being at the time in the house, a temporal lord was joined with him. * * *

"By this you will perceive how difficult a matter it is for a man to do any kindness to the people of this country. If he will be a public benefactor, he must resolve to fight his way through all opposition of it; it being a new and unheard-of thing here, that certainly hath some secret design in it to subvert the church, though they cannot tell what; and the reason of it is, "*Quia omnes, quæ sua sunt, quærunt.*"

"This library, with the books, hath cost me near five thousand pounds Irish money; and I designed to expend so much more about it, as soon as God should enable me. But I confess this opposition has struck a

* Bishops of Killala, Ossory, Killaloe, and Raphoe, especially the two last.

great damp upon my spirits. I beg your prayers, that God would please to strengthen and encourage me in my former resolutions, without whose assistance, yea, and enlivening grace, I can do nothing more. Rev. Sir,—Thus far I had written near a month ago, and have laid by my letter to cool upon it thus long, and finding no exaggeration of the truth in what is before said, I now proceed to tell you, that since that time I have placed all bishop Stillingfleet's books in the said library, which I retained in my own house before the library was by act of parliament appropriate to publick use, and I do find that they do very near fill up all the space that is yet prepared in it for the reception of the books."

In the ensuing year, he again writes upon the same subject as follows:—

"Until this matter be settled, and an additional building be raised, or the present be carried on, as is designed, I fear that I shall not find room in it to place in it any more books, which does no more discourage me from prosecuting my design of rendering the library as beneficial to this kingdom as may be, than the opposition made to the bill hath done; which hath only made me more zealous in the business, since it hath received the general approbation. But I must beg your pardon, if I cannot consent to leaving any marks behind me of the opposition made to the passing of that bill, more than what of necessity must be entered on the journals of the House of Lords here. The opponents, some of them are worthy men:

* * * * * sed
Nescio quo fato, nec qua vertigine rapti, &c.

"I forgive them, and I pray God every man else may; at least nothing under my hand shall ever rise up against them." Amongst his many difficulties and discouragements, he had the gratification of receiving testimonies and congratulations upon the completion of his noble undertaking, from the best and highest in the land. The subscription is from Archbishop King, and is of a previous date:—

"I understand with great satisfaction, that your Grace has concluded with Mr Stillingfleet for his father's library. 'Tis a noble gift to the church; and as it will perpetuate your Grace's memory here, so it will, I hope, be plentifully rewarded by our common Master. I could not on this occasion forbear expressing the sense I have of it, and rendering my thanks to God on behalf of your Grace, as well as acknowledgments to your Grace. I am further to assure your Grace that I am ready to join in an act of parliament to settle the library and gallery as we agreed, and I hope it will be ready to pass next session."

Both a librarian and a sub-librarian were appointed by the primate, who appropriated a charge of £250 per annum on certain lands in the county of Meath for the purpose of their endowment. He also directed, that the library, which then contained about 10,000 volumes, should remain open during the hours most suitable to the convenience of the citizens, and that all strangers should be freely admitted. About fifty years after, this library received a very important addition, by a bequest of valuable books and manuscripts from Dr Stearne, bishop of Clogher.

The primate now turned his active mind to the reform, and in many instances, remodelling of the diocese over which he was called upon to preside. At his own expense he repaired many of the deserted and dilapidated churches, and supplied them with proper ministers; and also purchased many alienated impropriations, and restored them to the church. The lamentable ignorance into which the Irish papists had at that time sunk, awakened the commiseration of many among the most zealous and conscientious of the Irish prelates, who forwarded a petition to the queen, through the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, that active and efficient means might be resorted to for their instruction and conversion. While this petition was under consideration, the primate and his clergy joined in a subscription for the purpose of maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the Roman Catholics in their native language; and, at the same time, through the exertions of Archbishop King, Mr Richardson, and others, the Scriptures were printed in Irish and disseminated.

In 1707, the primate was seized with an alarming illness, which he describes to his friend Dr Smith in the following manner:—"As to the present, a lazy indisposition seized me that day at dinner whereon my lord-lieutenant landed, which was June 24th, which rendered me unable to walk or stand without help. 'Twas a benumbness in my limbs, that is not yet quite worn off; nor can it be until I have liberty to ride and walk and stir about, which the business of parliament, convocation, and council, hath hitherto denied me, especially the council, which, since the recess of parliament, which is to meet again, September 20th, hath seldom sate, either itself or in a committee, less than eight or ten hours every day to prepare, adjust, and dispatch bills to the council in England for their approbation, that they may be returned hither in time enough to be passed in our parliament when it shall meet. This is our method. So that when I returned home at night, I have been still more inclined *ad dormiendum quam ad scribendum*. But God be thanked, my distemper, as the doctors tell me, is only the scurvies, not a touch of the palsy, as I at first apprehended. And the fore-mentioned business being now for a few days over, I have time to think of my friends and books."

From this period the health of the primate appears to have gradually declined, though his mental energies continued sound; and he continued to transact business almost to the close of his life, which did not terminate until 1713. Although in 1710 the duke of Ormonde told Swift, that "he was hardly able to sign a paper," when Swift answered, "he wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonths past."

On the 2d of November he was attacked by apoplexy, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of St Patrick's, adjoining his library, where a stately white marble monument was erected, which has since been removed into the cathedral, and is placed at the south side of the west aisle: while a mural plate marks the spot in the church-yard where his mortal remains were laid. He never married, and he does not appear to have had any very near relatives. His charities were unbounded—the amount

of them, being calculated at not less than £30,000. In Drogheda he built an alms-house for the reception of twelve widows of clergymen, and allowed to each of them £20 per annum. He also gave his aid and sanction to the missions in the East, and was himself a highly accomplished Oriental scholar. He excelled both in vocal and instrumental music, and understood thoroughly and scientifically the principles of harmony. He wrote an essay on sounds, with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and on which Guido Grandi, a philosopher of Cremona, has largely commented. When provost, he published "*Institutiones Logicæ*," and also edited Philip de Trieu's "*Manuductio ad Logicam*," to which he added the original Greek text, and some notes on Gassendi's tract, *De Demonstratione*, printed at Oxford, 1678.

ANTHONY DOPPING, BISHOP OF MEATH.

BORN A. D. 1643—DIED A. D. 1697.

THIS illustrious prelate was the son of a Mr Anthony Dopping, an Englishman. He was born in Dublin, 28th March, 1643, and educated in the free school of St Patrick's. There he was early distinguished for the quickness with which he learned; and so rapid was his progress, that he was enabled to enter the university of Dublin in 1656, being then in his 13th year. In the university, his advance was no less extraordinary, and he obtained the fellowship in his 19th year. As a fellow, he is said to have won general respect and regard in the university, for the zeal and ability with which he discharged the arduous duties of that high and responsible station, as well as for the ready kindness and affability which made his conduct and demeanor attractive to the undergraduates. In 1669 he was appointed minister of St Andrew's, and on the death of Jones, bishop of Kildare, in 1678, he was with universal approbation chosen his successor in that see. From this he was, in 1681, translated to Meath. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor, and vice-chancellor of the university.

We have already stated in some detail, and cannot now repeat the disastrous efforts of king James II. and his counsellors, to effect a revolution in England in favour of the church of Rome: as was to be expected, Ireland, in which their party was already formidable, and where the intrigues and arbitrary interpositions of government were less under the control of the protestant sense of the kingdom, was selected as the stage of action. For a time every engine of arbitrary power, and a policy that went to its mark with a violence of zeal irrespective of all considerations of truth, mercy, or equity, were let loose against the protestants of Ireland. We must here add, that in our detail of this execrable conspiracy, we have guarded against the hasty imputation of these deeds to the really respectable portions of our countrymen of the papal church. In such times, there ever was and

must be a ragged regiment of the mere mob of any people, of any country, or creed, who will be at the disposal of all who are with impunity allowed to raise the popular outcry of public disorder, rapine, and murder. Such a fact, inherent in human nature, conveys no reproach when fairly understood, save that which must fall on those who avail themselves of such an instrumentality for evil ends. We are here only concerned with the fact that, when the lord-deputy, Tyrconnel, put in motion every engine of power for the subversion of the church in Ireland, Dopping, with other privy counsellors, was dismissed, for the purpose of forming a council of the Romish persuasion.

The effect of such a course was soon felt through the kingdom, but more especially in Dublin, where tyranny and violence kept their headquarters, and all opposition was suppressed by terror. There it was unsafe for protestants to be in any way noticed, and their clergy, when found in the discharge of their spiritual functions, were treated with the most harsh contumelies and interruptions by the brutal soldiery who had received their orders for such conduct. The archbishop of Dublin, having become the subject of special persecution, was compelled to fly; and still, anxious for the faithful discharge of his duties, he appointed Dr King as his commissary. But some doubt arising as to the legality of the instrument by which he was appointed, King prevailed on the chapters of Christ church and Patrick's to elect the bishop of Meath to the administration of the spiritualities. Dopping was thus brought forward into a post of dangerous responsibility; and never was such a post more worthily filled, or in a season of more trying adversity. Ably and courageously aided by Dr King, he exerted himself openly in the assertion of the rights and interests of the church; to protect its property; to enforce and preserve its ministerial offices and duties; and fill its churches with worthy and efficient pastors. In the parliament of 1689, he distinguished himself in his place by the courage and eloquence with which he denounced the outrages of king James' government: he also made several protests and petitions in favour of the persecuted protestants, their church, and clergy. In a word, his boldness and prompt zeal were at the time only tolerated in that destructive assembly, because, standing nearly alone, he could not offer any check to their proceedings, while his freedom seemed to give an appearance of fairness and liberality to their debates.

His noble courage and ability were indeed of no avail, though they probably obtained for him the involuntary respect of his opponents, as they won the regard and veneration of all just and honourable minds of every persuasion. King James, happily ejected from the kingdom, against the liberty and religion of which he had conspired with his enemies, came to exercise his duplicity and despotic temper in Ireland; and here, in no long time, freed as he was from the constraints of the English public, exposed the secrets of his policy, by acts of the most flagrant injustice and spoliation. Into these we shall not now enter: it may be enough to mention here that the repeal of the act of settlement followed by the most flagitious act that ever left immortal dishonour on

the memory of a legislative assembly, had the effect of opening the eyes of every respectable person in the kingdom who from whatever cause had adhered to him.

An act of the same parliament transferred the incumbencies of the protestant churches, with their emoluments and sacred edifices, to the priests of the papal communion. Through the country they obtained possession by violence, in which they were aided by the soldiery of James. In Dublin the churches were seized on different pretexts; and with the aid of the French soldiery, a system of extortion exercised against the protestant inhabitants.

At length, by the blessing of that overruling providence, which pleased to reserve this country—we trust for better times—the march of outrage and sacrilege was stayed by the battle of the Boyne. On this memorable occasion, Dopping, with Digby bishop of Limerick, and the clergy then remaining in Dublin, waited on the conqueror with an address, which was composed and delivered by Dopping, who had been their advocate and champion in their recent trials and sufferings, and had never once faltered through the whole of that perilous and disastrous time. To the church history of this period we must revert in the following memoir.

Dopping, restored to his dignities, enjoyed many years of peace and prosperity, and died in the year 1697 in Dublin. He was buried in his family vault in St Andrew's church.

WILLIAM KING, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1729.

WILLIAM KING, who, whether we regard him as a prelate, a scholar, or a man of genius, is entitled to a place in the foremost rank of eminent Irishmen, was born in 1650 in Antrim. His father was a Scotch settler, who came over in the time of the civil wars to avoid taking the solemn league and covenant. William was sent to school at Dungannon, and in 1666, when he had nearly completed his 17th year, he entered as a sizer in the university of Dublin. There he obtained a scholarship, and graduated in 1670, and took master's degree in 1675, when he was ordained deacon by Dr Mossom, bishop of Derry. He had, at the provost's earnest desire, offered himself candidate at the fellowship examination, but not having read with this view, he did not succeed. But the effort was creditable, as he answered on such insufficient preparation, so as to manifest the possession of great ability and knowledge. He was thus recommended to Parker, archbishop of Tuam, who ordained him priest, and took him as chaplain into his family. During his residence with the archbishop he availed himself of the advantages thus afforded for the cultivation of his understanding, and the acquisition or improvement of such attainments as might be useful to his future views of duty or advancement; and in this prudent and laudable industry he was much encouraged by his patron, who had the sagacity to perceive that he was gifted with an intellect of no inferior order. The archbishop was not neglectful of

his other interests, and in the course of a few years promoted him to several benefices; so many that indeed they might seem to amount to a most reprehensible accumulation of pluralities, if we did not refer to the then poverty of church livings, and the state of learning in Ireland, which were such, that the promotion of piety and learning were objects of the most immediate importance. At the time of which we write, and indeed long after, the church livings were for the most part wholly inadequate to their purpose: and to this rather than to any more invidious cause, is to be attributed the abuse of pluralities. The far greater abuse of impropriations, and the poverty of the country made the parishes of so small and uncertain a value, that it was necessary to add five or six together to make an income of fifty pounds a-year. While to so many, perhaps, there was seldom more than one church in effective repair.*

In 1678 Parker was translated to Dublin. He collated King to the chancellorship of Patrick's, with the parish of Werburghs. Here King had the opportunity for which he must doubtless have been desirous, of labouring in his vocation as a christian minister. His great promptness and activity in the general interest of the chapter, and still more in the defence of religion, were during the same interval signalized by different efforts, and by controversial writings, not of sufficiently permanent interest to be here distinctly noticed. In 1688 he was further promoted by the chapter of St Patrick's, who elected him to the deanery.

Those troubled times to which we have so frequently been compelled to advert now came on, and for a moment seemed to shake the church and growing fortunes of this country to the foundation. In that dreadful crisis, King was among those who stood his ground, to brave and endure the dangers and sufferings of his church and fellow-citizens. When the repeal of the act of settlement was proposed, he justly concluded that such a dissolution of the actual constitution of the country amounted to a forfeiture of allegiance, and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade his fellow-countrymen to embrace the deliverance providentially offered by the prince of Orange; and it is admitted that he was memorably successful, so that under providence, he may be said first to have given a salutary direction to the public mind, bewildered as it was in the stormy collision of interests and passions, then prevalent in this distracted country.

Of these noble exertions a new sense was shown by the hostile party and their king in the following year, when they seized many protestant clergymen, among whom was King, on some absurd pretence, and imprisoned them in the castle. King committed his authority to his subdean, Mr Henry Price, with strong injunctions to keep the church in order to the utmost of his power. While thus imprisoned, he wrote the history of the events, of which he was himself the faithful and intelligent witness, and which, if the utmost allowance be made for the errors of human observation, contains beyond any fair comparison the most authentic and trustworthy narration of those events. We have had the advantage of its guidance in the political

* See Swift's memorial to Mr Harley about the first-fruits in his works, vol. xii.

history of this interval, and have also diligently compared it with the counter-statements which have been opposed to it. The grounds of our preference we have fully stated. It may here be enough to state, that the utmost deductions to be made from King's accounts are not such as in any way to affect the substantial accuracy of the whole, either in detail or general truth. With respect to his adversaries, it would be painful to go to the full length of exposure; but there is throughout the entire of them, that prominent vein of misrepresentation which belongs to the lowest form of tortuous advocacy—evasion, equivocation—and above all, that ever ready resource of historical falsehood, the *suppressio veri*. The large allowances to be made for that adjustment of facts to certain false assumptions in political theory, which gave such writers plausibility among the ignorant and deluded party for which they have written, would be more difficult to advert to in any summary form; but we will venture to say that we have sufficiently exposed them already in the course of this work.

King's confinement was not of long duration: he was liberated by the exertions of Herbert, who was one of the many protestants who yet lay under an erroneous sense of loyalty to James, and who, for the sake of the respectability which they attached to his cause, were enabled to exercise a considerable influence over him. It was during this interval that archbishop Marsh had been driven from the country, by a series of persecutions already related. On his release, Dean King applied himself, with all his ability and assiduous zeal, to assist the bishop of Meath in the care of the archdiocese thus deprived of its proper head. But he was too distinguished to be long endured by the despotic intolerance of James, or by the rancorous faction which directed his apprehensions and jealousies; once more he was seized and incarcerated: but the battle of the Boyne which delivered the country again set free the brave assertor of her rights, and historian of her wrongs and sufferings. In a few days after, king William entered the capital and returned thanks in Patrick's cathedral, where King, as dean, preached before him: considering the occasion of such a discourse the topics were obvious; the dean had to dwell on the dangers to which the church and the country had been exposed, and to trace their great and providential deliverance.

His merits were among the highest, if not indeed the very highest, which demanded recognition from the justice of William; and the interest of the church, then to be repaired from its ruins, still more imperatively demanded the promotion of one whose virtues and abilities so distinctly marked him for a post of dignity and public trust. The see of Derry had been designed by the king, as a reward for the services of the Rev. George Walker; but the death of this heroic man at the Boyne left the vacancy free for a far more appropriate nomination; and Dean King was chosen. By permission of the primate, whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of the office, King was consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin. He straightway repaired to his diocese, and found its condition no less wretched than was to be anticipated from the recent disorder which so universally impaired and confused all departments of civil order. In the diocese of Derry, civil war had exhausted its whole train of calamities; waste

and ruin overspread the country, and involved villages and pastures; the churches had been the subject of especial hostility, and were almost universally laid in ruin; flight alone had saved the clergy from massacre; and the state of the country which denied them the means of subsistence held out no spiritual motive for their return. All was desertion and dilapidation, confusion and waste. This unhappy state of things, from which a feebler spirit would have recoiled in despair, called forth the active beneficence and the efficient energy of the new bishop. Contributing largely from his private means, which he always seems to have used unsparingly for public uses, and obtaining by great exertion the disposal of the large arrears then due on the see estates, he immediately exerted himself to replace or repair the church which the army of James had destroyed; and in addition, he built several new churches.* The clergy he soon collected, and compelled either to settle in their parishes, or to allot a sufficient maintenance for good and sufficient curates: not content with this, he supported many at his own cost, until their incumbencies became adequate to their maintenance. He was not less careful in looking to the competency of his clergy than to the duties of their station: this was necessarily a matter of some delay; and as in former cases which we had to notice in this series, much opposition was to be encountered; for, as we have had to explain in our memoirs of Usher and Bedell, the constitution of the clerical body had been from necessity rather irregular. In his MS. correspondence he says, "I believe no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years, than I was at Londonderry, by both clergy and laity; but by good offices, steadiness in my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting these very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first."†

A large infusion of dissenting protestants, from Scotland, poured in at this time, and greatly increased the difficulties we have mentioned. To these, he opposed only kindness, the example of a christian spirit, and the superior gifts of reason, with which he was so highly endowed. From Harris we learn that his success was considerable. To promote the end for which he thus laboured, he composed a treatise, of which we extract the following description:—"A treatise, in which the argument in vindication of the church's forms of divine worship are exemplified from holy scripture, set forth in a perspicuous method, and enforced by conclusive reasoning, which is calm and affectionate in manner, free from all bitterness of spirit, and all harshness of language; and of which, while some opponents have commended the air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of the writer's character, no one has been found to confute its positions, or to invalidate its truth."‡

A reply to this essay drew from the bishop an answer which is valuable for the precise statistic account which it gives of the several states of the church of Ireland, and dissenting congregations at that time. It was entitled "An admonition to the dissenting inhabitants

* Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, ii.

† From the MS. letters of King; Mant.

‡ Mant.

of the diocese of Defry, concerning a book lately published by Mr J. Boyce."

Among other acts equally creditable to his activity and judgment, there is one which should not be omitted. Numerous families having deserted the barony of Inishowen and followed the army of king James into the south, a colony of Scottish Highlanders came over and occupied their room. These new settlers, not understanding the English language, petitioned the bishop for a minister to officiate for them in their own tongue: the bishop immediately provided two qualified clergymen, and authorized them to perform divine service in Irish, which was fully intelligible to the petitioners. One of these was a curate, paid by the bishop himself. They had at once a congregation of five hundred persons: the example spread, and it having been ascertained that numerous Highlanders had at different times gone over to the church of Rome, averring in answer to those who inquired their reasons, that, not understanding the English tongue, they considered it better to take such a step than to have no religion; means were adopted in the county of Antrim to remedy such a disadvantage, by the appointment of ministers fitly qualified. As authority for the particulars here but adverted to loosely, there may be cited a "History of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion," by the Rev. John Richardson, in 1712: the author says, "by these means many Highlanders and popish natives are added to our church: whereas, in other places, where such care is not taken of them, the natives do not only continue in popery, but many of the Highlanders are drawn off to separate meetings, or to the Romish superstition and idolatry."

The remaining particulars of any prominence in this interval of King's life demand, and mostly indeed admit, no lengthened detail. He was active in promoting the success of a contribution raised by queen Anne's permission, for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal clergy. He was one of the six bishops commissioned to determine upon the fitness of Dr Sheridan to be appointed to a vacant bishopric—an appointment, which, having been influenced by private favour, without adequate consideration, was opposed by an accusation at the bar of the House of Lords, and finally rejected by the decision of the bishops.

While bishop of Derry, King was also appointed in a commission of three bishops, to judge on the case of the bishop of Down and Connor. This prelate passed his entire time in England, and manifestly looked no further to the see than his own income demanded. One of these bishops, Wiseman of Dromore, fell sick, and the decision lay with Dopping and King, who, on the 13th of March, 1691, suspended him, and on the 21st, deprived him "for simony in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and for other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction." The same commission, according to their authority, proceeded to inquire into the disorders in the same diocese, which must have been the necessary consequence of so grievous a want of episcopal superintendence; and after much and vigilant inspection, they deprived the archdeacon of five out of nine parishes, and suspended him from his functions and benefices during the king's pleasure. They in like manner deprived or suspended several others,

on different grounds. These proceedings were acquiesced in by the accused parties, with the exception of the archdeacon, who appealed, petitioned, and published his case in a pamphlet of much talent and legal research; but all to no effect, as he was repeatedly condemned after fourteen different hearings in different courts.*

Among the several important bills and motions in the Irish parliament, affecting in different ways the constitution of the Irish church, at the close of this century, King exerted all the zeal and ability for which he remains distinguished. On these topics, we cannot enter here into the same detail that we have occasionally thought expedient in the merely political division of these memoirs. Fortunately the history of the Irish church is not, like our political history, yet to be written: Dr Mant's history, to the highly authentic character of which we are indebted for much comparative facility in the selection of our present materials, we feel, at the same time, to absolve us from the notice of much which would materially add to our very considerable difficulties, in endeavouring to produce a popular work on subjects so full of inflammatory material. It is indeed easy to state a fact, merely as such: but we have felt and feel such statements to be so often encumbered with fallacy and false impressions, that it is hard at times to make the simplest statement without a comment at far more length than its importance would otherwise merit. The change of times has, by a slow and long revolution, effected many great changes in those principles of expediency which are the essential elements of our social constitution; and consequently, in our notices of the past we have been compelled to guard against the comprehensive errors and prejudices arising from the misapplication of the elements of the present; and the difficulty has been increased by the partisan character of the numerous historians, and historical commentators, who have actually availed themselves (oftenest ignorantly we grant,) of this ambiguity of social events, to produce popular impressions.

For these reasons we shall avoid twenty pages of mere discussion, by not entering here upon the strife of parties respecting toleration, the general principle of which is plain enough: but which may be, and mostly has been, so interwoven with other objects and principles, as to demand much and nice consideration from any writer who pretends to form comprehensive judgments. At a further stage we shall have occasion to view these matters with that fulness which accurate discrimination requires.

Among other bills brought into the Irish parliament in 1695, one was for the union and division of parishes: it was rejected, for reasons probably of a nature discreditable to the parliament, as such a measure must have found considerable impediments in the vast preponderance of lay patronage and impropriations. Such objections were likely to have been noticed by King; and it is mentioned by Dr Mant, from archbishop Marsh's Diary, "the bishops of Derry, [King] and Waterford, protested against throwing out of the house a bill for union and division of parishes; and in their protestations, having reflected something on the house, (as was apprehended,) they were both ordered to withdraw;

* Mant's Hist.

and after some time, the bishop of Derry was brought in, and asked pardon of the house, and was ordered to take his place." King showed his good sense by declining a contest on a mere punctilio: as he was ready to brave and provoke the house, so far as his duty demanded, he was as ready to give way to wrath, when that duty ceased, and resistance would be but an ineffectual pertinacity. The bishop of Waterford, with a zeal not less praiseworthy, yet less governed, held out, and was sent prisoner to the castle, until he should beg pardon, and desire his enlargement by petition, which he did after an interval of three days' confinement.

A series of letters commencing at this period of his life, and throwing much valuable light upon church history, has been recently acquired by the university of Dublin: the learning and characteristic liberality of this eminent institution may ultimately lead to the publication of such interesting materials for history. Dr Mant, who has largely availed himself of them, mentions them as containing "transcripts of almost all his letters of that period, [from 1696, to 1729,] made in a contemporaneous handwriting for his own use," &c. Much of his correspondence is indeed scattered among the memoirs and letters of other eminent persons of the same period. Many very important letters on church affairs in the reign of queen Anne, have been published in Swift's correspondence. Among those at this earlier period, there are many which offer the clearest views of passing events, and of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs. One of September, 1696, strongly marks the neglect of the Irish church, which was so disgraceful to the government. "There is one thing I am much concerned at, because I have heard many take notice of it since I came to town, and it is the little care that is taken of the church in this kingdom at court, which between you and me, in policy ought not to be neglected, since it is surely and apparently the strongest interest in Ireland. We have several times petitioned for the forfeited impropriations, which are really worth little; and yet can by no means procure a letter for them, though such was never demurred on by any king before, and 'tis not one single farthing out of the king's pocket.

Notwithstanding the depression of the church in Ireland, and the evident indifference on the part of government; yet in the following year a bill was passed, which, in the course of time, has operated to amend some of its greatest deficiencies. By this enactment, ecclesiastical persons were empowered to build, improve or purchase houses and lands for their residence, with a right reserved to receive two-thirds of the sum so expended from their next successors, who in turn were entitled to one-third of the same entire sum, by a similar claim.

But there is altogether apparent, not only a neglect of the concerns of the church, but a strong disposition to usurp its rights, and encroach upon its authority. A letter from King to the bishop of Worcester, strongly complains of the disuse of the convocation, and the usurpation of its fiscal powers by the parliament. In the session of 1699, the clergy were assessed in the House of Commons for the first time; at which the bishops were allowed to protest. Another grievance was complained of by King, who expresses his strong fear that ecclesiastical preferment would be, for the future, entirely filled from England.

Extracts which Bishop Mant gives, from the correspondence of King about this time, speak more than volumes upon his personal character, on the actual state of the Irish church, and in some measure upon the condition and habits of society.

Queen Anne succeeded to the crown in March, 1702, on the death of king William. The change caused much anxious hope and fear in the breasts of the two great parties, who were divided by opposite views on many important interests, and on questions affecting the stability of the revolution. These agitations, however, belong to English history, and are worked too much below the surface to be considered as directly influential on the state of Irish affairs. In England, a deep game of intrigue renders the short ensuing reign memorable, as an exemplification of all the falsehood, baseness, and treachery which has been proverbially, but perhaps with some exaggeration, imputed to courts and courtiers. But we shall presently have to delineate this illustration on an ampler scale. King expressed, in one of his letters, his regrets for the death of his great benefactor, from whose wisdom so much was to be expected for Ireland.

In the following year, the death of primate Boyle occasioned a succession of removes and promotions; and King was promoted from Derry to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. Connected with this translation, we find no particulars of memorable interest. The following letter, written a year after, to the bishop of Norwich, ascertains the fact of his unwillingness to change, with the reasons:—

“It is above a year since I was translated to this see. I was desirous to decline, if the commands of my superiors and importunity of my friends had not prevailed with me against my own opinion, to sacrifice both my ease and profit to their sentiments. My lord, it was not without reason I was unwilling to remove to this station; for I had known the diocese thirty years, had governed it for some time, and knew that it was in worse circumstances (both in respect to discipline and attendance of the cures,) than most others in the kingdom; the numerous appropriations and impropriations in it making the due service of cures and right order almost impracticable: however, I hoped that by the assistance of those whose interest and duty it was to help me, I should be able to do something towards a reformation, though I could not expect all that was to be desired. And I am heartily sorry to tell your lordship, that I find the greatest opposition from those that should in reason be most forward to promote my intentions.”

Of the several acts of the Irish parliament in Queen Anne's reign, we are precluded from treating here, as they more fitly pertain to the subsequent epoch. They will scarcely however even there be found of sufficient interest to the ordinary reader, except as accounting for the mis-carriage of the Irish church as a great national institute.

King found the metropolitan see in a condition which afforded full exercise to his talent, liberality, and zeal. The protestant population had largely increased since the accession of William III., but there

was a deficiency of churches to accommodate its increasing numbers. He repaired fourteen, rebuilt seven, and built nineteen, in places till then destitute of any place for divine service. To effect this beneficial end, he availed himself of the forfeited impropriations, according to the provisions of an Act, 11 William III., aided by the contributions of the wealthy protestants of the diocese, to which he added largely from his own funds. These new churches he supplied with clergymen, by dividing the contiguous pluralities as any of them became vacant, and assigning glebes of twenty acres out of the see lands. In cases where there was no see land in the parish, he obtained it by purchase. By these and other means, he brought the parochial system of his diocese into an efficient condition. It is also to be mentioned, to the praise of his disinterested liberality, that having in the course of these arrangements trencched considerably upon the income of the see, he took just care to indemnify his successors, by the purchase of lands, with which he endowed the see.

Bishop Mant cites a letter from King to Ashe, bishop of Clogher, which displays in a very strong point of view the soundness of his judgment, as well as the earnestness of his concern for the welfare of the church. In this, he urges strongly on that prelate the error and pernicious effects of the course which he was about to adopt for the preferment of his brother; and points out, in terms no less clear and distinct than conclusive, the disadvantages attending pluralities; and explains the just and correct course to be adopted for the preferment of good clergymen—first placing them in such livings as first offered, and then promoting them to better as they fell vacant—a method to be praised, as evidently preserving the nearest possible proportion between merit and reward, efficiency and station.

The inefficiency of the convocation in the year 1705 was a subject of much anxious disquietude and strong complaint to the archbishop. The lower house of convocation appear to have proceeded with diligence, and proposed several useful laws, which were however rejected or not entertained by the upper house, to the great vexation of archbishop King, who, in several letters, complains in strong and often pathetic terms of the indifference, the want of energy, or the subserviency betrayed by many of his brethren.

Among the irregularities which still continued to prevail, in consequence of inadequate provision for the respectable support of the Irish church, was the difficulty of obtaining persons of perfect competency to fill the ministerial office. Such a want has always the necessary effect of bringing forward an inferior class of candidates for ordination; and thus various irregularities must creep in. The indolence and inattention of many prelates permitted such an evil at this period to rise to a dangerous extent; and among those who sought admission on easy terms into holy orders, these prelates became distinguished by the term of *ordainers*. Against this abuse the archbishop took an active part; and, from a letter which was occasioned by some incident in the course of his proceedings, he mentions the course pursued by himself toward candidates for orders. "The method I take, when I ordain any, is this:—First, he applies himself to me in private, and I

examine him. I never ordain any that I have not known personally for some time. If he give me satisfaction as to his life, title, and learning, then I summon four or five of the clergy, according to the canons, to assist me in the examination, which lasts publicly four days. Each takes such part as is agreed. The candidates exhibit all their testimonials, titles, &c., and the registrar enters a brief of it. If any come from another diocese, or be to be preferred in it, I do not admit him but at the request of the bishop; for I think it reasonable that every bishop should have the examination of those that are to serve in his diocese. By this method I have had some trouble, but have avoided all importunity and surprise about conferring orders, though I have been a bishop eighteen years."

The cause to which this disadvantage of the Irish church has been mainly attributed here, is well illustrated also by another statement which the archbishop makes. Of the fifty ministers in the country portion of his diocese, the five highest incomes amounted to no more than £100 a-year. About a dozen were less than £40: some had nothing certain, and others from £10 to £16. To have raised the clergy of Ireland from this hapless condition was indeed the most important of the archbishop's many great services to Ireland; and it may therefore not be too much to offer some further illustrations of this state of things, and of the sacrifices and exertions which they elicited from his zeal and liberality. "In Wicklow and Arklow," he mentions, in a letter to Mr Wentworth, "the one has ten, and the other eleven parishes, to make a competency; and 'tis generally so through this diocese. Each of those ministers has two churches to serve, and at a considerable distance." To the same gentleman he makes proposals for the purchase of his impropriations, mentions the heavy expenses to which he had already been induced, observing that he was yet unwilling to lose the opportunity for the purchase of the impropriations which Mr Wentworth was desirous to sell. The information given here is much extended in another letter to the bishop of Ferns, at whose diocese the archbishop had been, on his triennial visitation. In this letter, the pernicious anomaly of impropriation is strongly illustrated, as it appears from the archbishop's statement. Of one hundred and thirty-one parishes in Ferns, seventy-one were impropriated in lay hands; twenty-eight were appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries, and prebendaries of cathedrals, &c.; and thirty-two only in the possession of the working clergy,—these latter being the worst.

Among other proofs of the archbishop's industrious zeal in remedying the wants of the Irish church, was a form for the consecration of churches, there having been no authority for the form then in use in Ireland. It seems to have been considered a matter of much nicety, on which the English convocation had not been able to agree. The archbishop used his own form, of which he observes, that some of the numerous churches he had consecrated were "in a crowd of dissenters," to whom the form he used gave satisfaction. This he soon after published, under the title of "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; showing what is meant by Dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office,"—this form "having been previously agreed

to at a synod and visitation of the diocese of Dublin, held in the cathedral church of St Patrick's" in the same year.*

In the year 1709, and the following year, great exertions were made for the instruction of the Irish peasantry, through the medium of their native tongue. The bishops, in their convocation, introduced the subject, referring its consideration to the lower assembly, where it was warmly entertained. A memoir also, from the nobility and gentry, was presented to the duke of Ormonde. Several of the bishops and clergy exerted themselves to the same end; but chiefly the primate, with archbishop King, bestirred themselves with efficacy and zeal. Under the archbishop's patronage, a professor was appointed to teach the Irish language in the university. He also engaged Mr Richardson, who had already been most effectually employed in the same good service, to "solicit the printing of Irish Bibles, the liturgy, and an exposition of the church catechism, for the people." On this interesting topic, the reader may find fuller information in our memoir of the Rev. John Richardson, of whose memoir it will form the material.

In the same interval of time, the archbishop took a leading part among the Irish bishops in the important solicitation for the remission of the first-fruits and twentieth-parts, taxes affecting the church livings, and payable to the crown. This affair had been previously brought forward seven years before, but let drop for want of proper solicitation. It was now committed to Swift, and by him carried to a successful issue. From his memorial to Mr Harley, we learn that the twentieth-parts were "twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to £500 per annum." The petition was, that these should be remitted to the clergy. From the same document, we learn that "the first-fruits, paid by all incumbents to her majesty on their promotion, amounted to £450 per annum." Of these it was proposed to make "a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches."

But Swift, not content with pressing merely these two points, which went to the full extent of his commission, drew up a second memorial, in which he also included the crown rents. These were payable by those parishes of which the queen was impropiator: they consisted of a half-yearly rent payable by the incumbent, and amounted to a third-part of the value of the tithes.

The two former imposts were remitted by the queen: the crown rents were not actually pressed for: Harley, to whom Swift communicated both memorials, advised the postponement of this part of his suit for the time, as likely to endanger his success. The patent was completed, February, 1711,—exonerating the Irish clergy from the twentieth-parts, and vesting the first-fruits in the archbishop of Armagh and others, for the purposes already mentioned.

As we are under the necessity of contracting this memoir, we shall not enter upon the account of the archbishop's earnest and judicious

* Mant's History, II.

exertions for an authorized and fit adaptation of the occasional forms of public prayer.*

For the same reason, we do not consider it expedient to notice the archbishop's well-directed patronage of some public men, of whom we must take some separate notice. He was the kind and efficient patron of Parnell and of Ambrose Philips. His correspondence with dean Swift is to be found in the collection of Swift's works; and though we have not largely availed ourselves of them in this memoir, as they principally relate to affairs on which it is our desire to be summary,† yet they have largely entered into our study of the writer, and will afford us some useful assistance farther on. Swift was at this time in the climax of his importance in the field of political party, and of his favour with Harley and St John; and the archbishop displays much anxiety for his interests, by frequent and urgent exhortations to use the favourable season for his own advantage. Swift was also in the full exertion of his extraordinary powers, in that way which may perhaps be considered their proper application; and it is sometimes amusing to read the sage counsels of the grave and powerful divine and metaphysician to the keen satirist and the adroit partisan, to produce some great work worthy of his learning and genius. This approaches sometimes nearly to the effect of an irony, when he appeals to the same correspondent on the malice of certain persons. "You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works. This makes it necessary that you should shame the varlets, by writing something that may enlighten the world; which I am sure your genius will reach, if you set yourself to it."

Upon the death of the primate, November, 1713, there was an expectation among the friends of the archbishop that he would be the person selected to fill that high station; and there can be no doubt that such a selection must have been the result of a fair and just regard to the character of the individual, or to the real interests of the church. Such indeed never was, or is likely to be, the primary ground of choice, though we believe it has been recognised as a subordinate rule to promote learning, talent, and even piety, when the main object of party interests might so permit.

If wisdom, piety, and a life of the most exemplary zeal and efficiency in the discharge of the episcopal duties, were primarily regarded, no one had a higher claim than archbishop King to the primacy. But, unfortunately for the occasion, he was looked on as belonging to "the other party," by a government which professed one set of principles, and privately acted on another. With their overt declaration, their pretended principles of action, their settled enactments, and avowed policy and design in favour of the protestant succession, the archbishop conscientiously agreed; but from men who followed a prevaricating system of dark and underworking manœuvres in order to counteract all these principles, unsurpassed by any who had ever wormed their way

* Full information on this subject will be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. ii. 251—259.

† They are at this period wholly on the first-fruits.

into royal courts, a man such as King had nothing to hope: as was said of another great man in after times, "he stood alone," too sagacious to be ignorant of the path to preferment, too true to pursue it, not expecting or desiring any favour of which he knew the dishonourable price: but steadily resisting and denouncing in the only safe or effectual way the evil practices of others. This is what appears to us to be the plain explanation, both of his silence as to his own claims, and his significant reproofs of the conduct of his mitre-hunting and steeple-chasing brethren.

He preached the primate's funeral sermon on Psalm cxii. v. 6. In a letter which he wrote on the occasion, he expresses the sense he entertained of the expediency of doing honour to the memory of one, whose example might be made effectual to incite others, in a time when acts of public beneficence were rare. He also incidentally mentions, as having occurred in the interval since his appointment, the munificent bequests of Dr Stephens and Sir Patrick Dun, which we shall have in our next division to notice more at large.

The primacy was filled by the appointment of Dr Lindsay, the son of a Scotch minister, and at the time bishop of Raphoe.

But the state of affairs which we have summarily explained here, as we shall be under the necessity of viewing them more distinctly in another memoir, had happily its termination. The ministerial intrigues of that disgraceful cabinet were suddenly paralyzed by the death of the queen, on the 1st of August 1714. The accession of the house of Hanover was soon felt in the administration of Irish affairs, but our immediate concern is with the history of the archbishop. He had retired for the summer months to a house near Dublin, belonging to the earl Fitzwilliam, and here he was surprised on the 15th of September by an express from the duke of Shrewsbury, acquainting him with his appointment as one of the lords justices. Joined with him in this commission were the earl of Kildare and the archbishop of Tuam. On the merits and result of this appointment, we should here quote some sentences from Mr Harris, but we shall in preference offer them with the comments of Dr Mant, whose paragraph we extract as it stands. "Archbishop King was uniformly conspicuous for his zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, and to the succession of the crown in that protestant family; as necessary, under divine Providence, to the security and welfare of the constitution in church and state:" and Mr Harris confidently attributes it "in a great measure to his seasonable counsel, and the weighty authority which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed probity, had procured him, that the city of Dublin was preserved steady and united in an unshaken affection to the succession of the royal family of Hanover." Information of the archbishop's untainted loyalty and extraordinary merit being communicated to the king, caused him to be invested with the highest trust in the kingdom, which he discharged with such ability and integrity, and at the same time with so much prudence, moderation, and kindness, as to occasion the re-instatement or continuance in employment of many civil and military officers, who had been, or were in danger of being removed on a suspicion of disloyalty. "This," observes his contemporary biographer, "is attested by many now

living, who gratefully own the truth of this fact. And it is notorious," he continues, "that by his and the other lords justices' prudent directions, and steady conduct, during their presiding in the public administration, the whole nation was in an even and calm temper, not the least tending to riots or insurrections, and at a season when our standing army was transported to suppress the rebellion in Great Britain."

The archbishop had difficulties to encounter, such as might well abate any satisfaction to be derived from this mark of favour from the new administration. The spirit of party had run so high; so many had in several ways committed themselves; the suspicions of the Whigs were so much on the alert, and their zeal so lively, that it was a matter of strong fear to the archbishop that some attempt would be made to make him instrumental to extreme and harsh proceedings, which he had ever deprecated and would still refuse to sanction. He was also sensible of the infirmities of ill health, and old age, which latterly had been growing upon him. He was yet glad to avail himself of an occasion which he hoped would increase his means of benefiting the great cause of religion. There were several vacancies in the church, and there had been hitherto a most scandalous disregard of every consideration which ought to have weight, in Irish preferments. The Irish church had been treated as a convenient receptacle for such claimants as could not be safely provided for in England—and was thus filled with the refuse and incapacity of the English clergy. It was also complained of by the archbishop, that the new lord-lieutenants, who were changed nearly every three years, brought over as chaplains whoever they wished to provide for. These evils, with others already noticed, offered a vast weight of discouragement to the archbishop. He was also strong in his representations of the unhappy consequences of the entire ignorance which prevailed in England as to the actual condition of the Irish church. The patronage of government was lavished with the most reckless disregard to circumstances,—the sixth of a diocese, amounting to perhaps twenty parishes, which required the service of, at least, twenty clergymen, was put together to make up the sum of two hundred a-year for some claimant, who, as a matter of course, would consider himself exempt from any residence or sacrifice of means to provide substitutes. These facts are, indeed, well worthy of attention, as affording materials for an explanation of the seeming permanency of the papal communion in Ireland. They could easily be authenticated and extended. They are here offered to the reader's attention, on the authority of the letters of archbishop King, which any one who desires to see, may find in Dr Mant's history. The lengthened space which they would occupy has made us sparing of such insertions. The life of archbishop King, indeed, demands a volume to itself: such a volume would not only contain the most important portion of our church history, but might be made the vehicle for the discussion, with regard to Ireland, of several of the most important questions in ecclesiastical polity.

The weight of the archbishop's influence, continued exertion, and uncompromising remonstrance and urgency, went far to abate this evil state of our church affairs. The sees were filled to his satisfaction, and he was enabled by securing the promotion of some of his

own friends to consult most effectually for the interests of religion. There prevailed for a time, some degree of irritation among the clergy here in common with those in England—Jacobite feelings could not fail to infect them largely, and the reputed Lutheranism of king George was an alarm to some, and a pretext to others. This absurd apprehension passed away too soon to be dwelt on here. The archbishop, by authority tempered by moderation, kindness, and the influential counsel of good sense, restrained and quieted the minds of many in his own diocese; and we learn from his letters to several bishops, that his efforts were as assiduously directed to set them right, and to urge those who might be remiss in their duty.

In 1716, we find the archbishop in England for the recovery of his health. At this time there was a renewal of his interrupted correspondence with Swift, who seems to have broken the ice on this occasion, by a letter containing some mention of diocesan affairs, but chiefly expressive of his sense of the detrimental effect of any estrangement between the dean of St Patrick's, and the archbishop of Dublin. The dean was not of a mettle to be complimentary to those from whom he expected nothing,—by temperament he was stern and sincere, though under circumstances his inordinate ambition counterbalanced or rather tempered and refined these coarse virtues; to the archbishop, he shows, however, a degree of veneration and respect, which could not be otherwise than sincere, from the justness of his praise and its entire disinterestedness.

The archbishop's bold and uncompromising character exposed him to much enmity from opponents, and some prejudice among those who were disappointed at not finding any partisanship in his adherence. To him, the truly able and good alone could be friends; for such alone could find in him a thorough alliance and co-operation. He was at this period the more loudly complained of in Ireland, because he was absent: and there is a letter extant which he wrote expressly in his own defence, which goes so fully into the detail of his conduct and motives of action; and conveys so strong an impression of his character, that we shall insert it here: though long beyond our established limits of quotation, it will enable us materially to abridge the subsequent portion of this memoir.

"Sir,—I received yours of the 19th of Feb., yesterday, and two before; but have had a long fit of gout in my right hand, which has disabled me to write, and it is with pain I handle my pen. I thank you for the account you give me; as to what concerns my lord primate, I have nothing to say; but as to my being an opinionative man, and wedded to my own way, it is no news to me.

"It was the constant clamour of Sir Constantine Phipps, and all that party, and no wonder, when I am almost single in opposition to their designs. And I believe I shall take the same way, if I should perceive anything carrying on to the prejudice of his majesty's prerogative, of the interest of religion, or the public. But I have had the fortune in everything where I was reckoned to be positive, to be justified by the event; and, when the mischiefs of the contrary management have appeared, then I have universally been acknowledged to

have been in the right: and I am sorry that I am able to give so many instances where it so happened. I never yet, that I remember, stood out against the current of common opinion, but I have, at long running, either gained my point or seen the repentance of those that blamed me.

"I hope the diocese of Derry, whilst I was in it, and the diocese of Dublin, since I came to it, have not been the worse for my steadiness: for so I call that virtue which others call positiveness, opinionative, and being wedded to my own way. The truth is, my ways are the ways prescribed by the common and by the ecclesiastical laws, and so ought not to be called my ways; but generally, the ways of those that censure me are truly their own ways, being contrary to laws, canons, and justice. It is easy for a few whisperers in London, whose designs and practices I have opposed, to tell ill stories, and prejudice people against any one: but I believe if it were put to the vote of the people of Ireland to judge of my conduct, I should have as many of all sorts approving it, protestants, dissenters, and papists, as any of my easy complying neighbours would have for justifying theirs. Though I am little concerned about that, my business not being to please men but God: and he is so good, that when a man's ways please him, he often makes his enemies at peace with him, and beyond all expectation his reputation is cleared. You say, the person who discoursed you acknowledged that I had been and was useful and serviceable to the church: assure yourself that if ever I was so in anything, it was by doing those very things that got me the censure of being opinionative and singular.

"I remember an understanding and sincere friend once ingenuously told me, that I was too rough and positive in my treating my clergy, and proposed to me the example of the late bishop of Meath, Doctor Dopping, a person who was in truth much better skilled in the laws and constitutions of the church than I was, had the good thereof as much at heart as any man could have, was of a meek and gentle spirit, and managed all things with mildness and gentle persuasion. I asked my friend whether he was well acquainted with the dioceses of Meath and Derry, and desired him to tell me whether of them he thought in best condition, as to the churches built and repaired, as to the progress of conformity, service of the cures, and flourishing of the clergy as to their temporals. He freely owned that Derry was in a much better condition as to all these, and that it was due to the care I had taken. To which I replied, that he knew the churches had been more destroyed in Derry, and the state of the clergy and conformity more disturbed and wasted than in any place of Ireland: and yet in five or six years that I had been there bishop, it was put in a better posture by the methods I took, than Meath was in fifteen by the bishops: and he might judge by that which of the two were best. I asked also if he had lately discoursed any of the Derry clergy: he said he had, and said he found them much altered as to their opinion of my proceedings: and they thought at first, when I began, that it was impossible to bring the discipline of the church, and conformity to the pass in which they were then; that they found themselves agreeably deceived, both as to their spiritual and temporal advantages: and thus ended all the loud

clamours raised at first against my positiveness, singularity, and tyranny: and I believe you may remember something of this.

"As to the other part that concerns charity, I have been sixteen years archbishop of Dublin, and can show visibly, besides what is private, that above £70,000 has been laid out and given to works of charity, such as building churches, poor houses, schools, and hospitals, and other pious uses in the diocese, which I think a great deal in so poor a country. I hope neither my example nor persuasions have given any discouragement to the good disposition of the donors.

"As to charity schools, I have perhaps more in this city than are in most of the kingdom; besides, what my opinion was of them seven years ago, you will see by the enclosed, which is a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr Nicholson at that time.

"I have only now to add to it, that I observed with great grief, that the management of many of these schools was got into the hands of persons disaffected to the revolution and government: and what the effect of that may be in time, it is easy to judge. I am sure I shall never encourage them, and will take the best care I can to put them into right hands in my own diocese.

"Another thing I apprehended, that the clergy, on account of these schools, may think themselves freed from the most excellent method proposed for teaching the principles of Christianity in the rubricks annexed to the Catechism and office of confirmation in our common Prayer Book, which if enforced and duly executed, would effectually propagate all the necessary knowledge for christians to all manner of persons; whereas the teaching six or seven hundred poor children, the number of those settled in Dublin, no ways answers the end of our rubricks which reaches all. I therefore endeavour to put the clergy on doing their duty, and this is one of my particular ways to which I am wedded, and which doth not please at all. I have good hope of these schools, whilst under a strict eye, and in well affected hands, and whilst they depend on the yearly contributions of well-disposed christians; for those will, I suppose, take care that their money be not misapplied: and schoolmasters and mistresses will take care to give a good account, for fear they should get no more. But if once they come to have legal and settled endowments, I doubt they will be managed as other charities that are on that foot.

"Of what moment I reckon the training up of youth in a right way, you may see from my printed charity sermon, preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Proverbs xxii. 6.

"I shall add no more, but my most hearty prayers for you: and that I am,

"Sir, yours, &c.

"W. D"

"John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar's, Esq.
"in Fleet Street, London."

To the just and conclusive vindication contained in this most able and interesting letter, there is nothing to be added, but that—from all we have been enabled to discover in the history of his time, or in the accounts of his life—it contains nothing more than the most rigid and

allowed truth. It was not indeed for his faults that King at any time became unpopular or obnoxious to any party: his is in truth a very peculiar case of one who courted none, but took up his uncompromising stand on principle: a great and rare distinction in a public man. Though a staunch supporter of the protestant succession, for which he did more in Ireland than any other individual, his support stopped short at the bounds of constitutional expediency and the interests of the church: and the party which, ascribing to him only those low motives by which parties are actuated, counted upon him as an adherent, were irritated to find that when they would have sacrificed the church and trampled on the feelings of Ireland, they had a firm and able opponent in archbishop King.

The British government—in fact influenced by the struggle against Jacobitism, from which it had recently emerged—partly imposed on by the interested, and wholly ignorant of Ireland, soon lost sight of all consideration but the one: the strengthening of the English interest in this kingdom: an object, it is true, essential to the improvement of Ireland, but then pursued without regard to the only principles on which it should proceed. We cannot enter here into details, for most of which there will occur more appropriate space; but in addition to those acts of misgovernment, already so frequently noticed in this memoir, and on which the extracts we have given are so explicit, the criminal negligence of the English government was shown by the remissness of those appointed as lord-lieutenants, who absented themselves altogether, taking no further part in Irish affairs than an occasional visit to enforce some unconstitutional or oppressive and arbitrary measure, to over-awe parliament, and provide by church preferments for a train of needy dependents for the most part unqualified. At the same time, and in concert with the same system of neglect and contempt, the English parliament began to assert a jurisdiction of appeal, and a legislative superiority in Ireland: the first, in the suit between Sherlock and Annesly; and the second, in an act in which the British parliament was declared to have full power and authority “to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the *kingdom* of Ireland.” A curious blunder to occur in such a composition: such an act, if it could have any validity, was indeed equivalent to a “union.” On this occasion, as also on the question of the appellate jurisdiction, the archbishop was one of three or four peers, who openly expressed his dissent, and gave a strenuous opposition in his place in the house, as well as by the utmost exertion of his influence. On the last mentioned occasion he entered a spirited protest on the journals, in which he asserted the independence of Ireland.

Such irrespective courses of policy could not indeed fail to alienate the affections of those, whose support had been on any constitutional principle. Men who maintained the English interests for the good of Ireland, and the maintenance of the church, were little likely to sacrifice these interests for the support of government. And thus it came, that the archbishop was not without reason looked on about this time as one of the most influential leaders of the opposition in Ireland.

There occurred at the same time a considerable emigration of protes

tants from Ireland: it was occasioned by a general rise in the rent of their farms, which was carried by the landlords so far, as to make it impossible for their tenantry to subsist: as on former occasions, when their farms were set up for the highest offer, the papists, who were less provident in their bargains, could live on less, and were also less precise as to the payment of their rents, easily outbid the previous occupants, who, being thus dispossessed, left the country in crowds. Advantage of this fact was taken by the dissenters, to represent it as mainly a consequence of the disabilities under which they lay; and, in compliance with their importunities, a toleration bill was proposed, and hurried through the Irish parliament. Against this archbishop King took an active part, and his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, contain the most full explanation of these facts and of the consequent proceedings in the Irish parliament. From his accounts* it will appear that the dissenters were in reality indifferent as to the toleration bill, which they had at former times refused, but that there was at that time some hope entertained among them to introduce the "solemn league and covenant" into Ireland: a hope for which, indeed, there was strong grounds, in the neglected condition of the established church, the consequence of insufficient endowments, an ill-appointed clergy, and a patronage most unduly appropriated and scandalously applied by the government. The Irish commons had no great leaning to the dissenters, but were alarmed by apprehensions of a bill projected by the government, to prevent which they brought in a bill of their own, hastily got up, and strenuously opposed in its course by King, and the other archbishops. It, nevertheless, passed, and was rendered still more objectionable in the privy council, where it was altered with a degree of inadvertence, which, in the archbishop's opinion, annulled the act of uniformity. With these general statements we must here be content, as we have already exceeded our limits: and endeavour to confine the remainder of this memoir to the more immediate history of the archbishop.

The English government had taken a warm interest in the measures to which we have adverted, and George I. had in various public ways expressed himself in their favour: it may therefore be well conceived, that the archbishop was not high in favour. The treatment he received on every occasion which brought him into contact with his opponents or with the members of the Irish government, seems to have been harsh. A man like King was not to be depressed by a corrupt and misguided faction; but the infirmities of age were growing fast upon him, and with his ardent zeal he must have frequently felt the mortification of being incapacitated from those arduous affairs in which there were so few to take his place.

Considering the temper of venality, selfishness, and subserviency, which (at all times, the tendencies of public life) were in a peculiar manner the features of that time, we should be inclined to infer, that a man so direct and uncompromising in the pursuit of right, and the observance of duty, and so frank in his remonstrances and suggestions, must have been to some extent unpopular, among the crowd of official

* These letters may be found in Mant's Hist.

or political persons. Among this large and honourable class, there are conventional notions, by which men may pursue their private interests to any convenient extent, without sacrificing the consciousness of honour and virtue, further than human pride will easily permit. To this accommodating virtue a plain speaker is insufferable, and the more so, because his urgency seldom admits of any reply. Among the letters already cited here, there are instances enough of this temper; and it would be easy, were it worth while, to pursue a point of character, to bring together a striking collection of specimens of this severe simplicity of remonstrances or reproof, urged with a strength of reason, or a knowledge of facts, such as to create a formidable sense of the writer's keen and stern rectitude of spirit. An amusing specimen may be offered from one of his letters to secretary Southwell:—"Consider you have received out of Ireland, at least sixty thousand pounds since the revolution, which is more than the tenth part of all the current coin of Ireland; and sure there ought to be some footstep of charitable work done to a kingdom, out of which you have drained so vast sums." In another letter, in answer to one in which the same gentleman complains of gouty ankles, the archbishop tells him that he wants money to build three or four churches, and suggests, that if Mr Southwell would contribute a large sum for the purpose, the discharge of the superfluous weight might relieve his infirm ankles: "I am now," he writes, "going on in my forty-third gouty year, and if I had not taken care to keep myself light that way, I had certainly been a cripple long ago: you see then your remedy, pray try it; a little assignment of a year's salary, though it may not cure your ankles, will certainly ease a toe." This is rather rude railing, and would now be inadmissible perhaps in friendly correspondence; but we think it indicates in a striking manner the peculiar temper of this great prelate.

It is about this period that he is alluded to by Swift, in his "proposal for the universal use of Irish manufacture," in a manner which shows the Archbishop's zeal for the promotion of this object. "I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose, be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us."

We have already noticed the decision in the suit between the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter of Christ's Church. With this body he seems to have had no less than four suits, which had every one of them been prosecuted through every court of competent jurisdiction in both kingdoms, by writs of error and appeals; and in all were decided against the Chapter. The Archbishop had throughout pressed his rights with all the earnest zeal of his character, not from the mere disposition to maintain his own personal authority; a reason, however, fully sufficient; but from his great anxiety to correct the flagitious irregularities which disgraced that Chapter, which was remiss in its proper offices, and regardless of the decent and orderly regulation and care of their cathedral. "They live in opposition to all mankind," writes King, "except their two lawyers Mr Rutley and Mr Burke; squander away their economy; have turned their chapter house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine cellars; and allowed a

room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand jury room, and now for a robe room for the judges; and are greatly chagrined at my getting two or three churches built and consecrated in the parishes belonging to their body, which were formerly neglected as several others still are. Their cathedral is in a pitiful condition; and, in short, the dean and chapter, and all their members, seem to have little regard to the good of the church, or to the service of God. This consideration has made me zealous to settle my jurisdiction over them, and the same makes them unwilling to come under it."

From all we have stated, it may easily be anticipated that the death of primate Lindsay, which occurred in 1724, held out no real prospect of further promotion to the archbishop. He was evidently unsuited to the one sole purpose observed by the government in the appointments of the church:—the prelate who could venture to oppose any one of their measures, or to offer the slightest indication of an independent regard to his own duty,—the maintenance of the church, or the welfare of Ireland, was not the fit material for an archbishop of Armagh; and though his friends were zealous for his appointment, he entertained neither a hope nor desire to change. He knew what was expected; he also considered the enormous labour which he should have to encounter in reforming the northern see, and the strife unsuited to the fast increasing infirmities of his age. On these points, we may refer the student of ecclesiastical history to his correspondence with Dr Marmaduke Coghill, Dean Swift, and others.

On this occasion, the usual agitation of ecclesiastical expectations and speculations was terminated by the appointment of Dr Boulter, of whom we shall give some account in a separate memoir. In a notice on Swift's correspondence it is affirmed, that on Lindsay's death the archbishop "immediately laid claim to the primacy;" and that the reason alleged for a refusal was his advanced age. The annotator goes on to state that the archbishop found no other way of testifying his resentment, except by a rude reception of the new primate, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance; "My lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise." The language of this extract is evidently that of an enemy,—the description of his usual sneering countenance conveys a sentiment of bitterness. The grave, earnest, and kind, though strenuous, character of the archbishop is too amply testified by extant documents, and recorded facts, to leave any doubt as to the entire unsuitableness of such a description; but, considering the baseness of the times, it is not unlikely that such an expression of countenance may have been that most likely to be elicited by the author of such a note. This person has, we now know, certainly dealt in flippant assertions without any justifiable ground, as to the pretended claim of the primacy. As to the wit, it is very likely to be correctly stated, though falsely interpreted by one who could only comprehend some little purpose of a mean mind. The archbishop was, it is likely, unable to rise from his chair: the *mot* was but the frank wit which belonged to his character

and could never be mistaken unless by some petty malice, that outstrips its purpose, for a mark of resentment.

The archbishop's rapid decline into the physical infirmities of age, was such as to exclude him in a great measure from the more public concerns of Ireland. In the affairs of his diocese, he still took the same anxious and judicious interest; as his clear and sagacious intellect retained its vigour and soundness to the last. He was yet disabled for the discharge of those offices which required the smallest bodily exertion; and both in his visitations, and confirmations, received ready and kind assistance from his brother bishops. The gout by which he had been periodically visited for many years now began to return at such diminished intervals, and with such severe effects, that his death began to be an anxious subject of speculation, with the Irish government; and we find the primate taking constant precautions to secure a successor who might strengthen his hands in the virtual government of Irish affairs which was committed to him.

Still, we find the archbishop in the midst of sufferings and infirmities, and himself looking for the termination of his labours and anxieties; displaying on every occasion, the same alertness to resist what was wrong or prejudicial to the church and kingdom, and to remedy or reform what was defective or ill-ordered. He was strenuous in his remonstrances on the continued abuses of government patronage; and with the ordinary fortune of those who carry their notion of right beyond their time, he still experienced not much thanks, and a great deal of hostility.

He exerted himself with his ancient zeal, but diminished success, to obtain an increase of churches in Dublin; and the last letter, written with his own hand, was addressed to lady Carteret, on this subject. Through the whole correspondence of these later years of his life, there continues to run the same strength of understanding, firmness of principle, and characteristic freedom from narrow and self-reflecting indications. And from the considerable portions of his letters which we have seen in Swift's correspondence, as well as in the work of Bishop Mant, who has obtained them from MS. books in the possession of the university, and elsewhere, we should venture to say, that were they printed, as we trust they may be, there would be very few, if any, such collections, so valuable as an illustration of the history of his time, or of the wisdom, integrity, and singleness of the man. From several of these before us, we can now but transcribe a few sentences which we select for their peculiar bearing on his own view of his approaching death. A letter to Mr Southwell is terminated with this affecting retrospect. "This day requires my remembering it; for, thirty-nine years ago, I was imprisoned in the castle by king James; I pray God make me thankful to him, who preserved me then, and hath ever since protected and supported me, and hath given me a long and happy life." In a letter of the next month, to the Bishop of Killala, he says, "I don't complain of the approach of the night of death—for that, I thank God, I am not solicitous about; but, it is uneasy to me to observe, that though the duties of a bishop are incumbent upon me, yet I am not able to discharge them in person."

In another letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, written on the same day, he writes: "I can by no means be of opinion that I have done my work, or that I should sit down and rest from my labours. St. Paul has set me a better example, who, when he had laboured a thousand times more than I, and to much better purpose; yet did not reckon upon what was past, but prest forward to the obtaining the prize for which he laboured. There is no stopping in this course till God call us from it by death. I would have you to propose no other example but St. Paul himself, and compare the progress you make to his. I am ashamed every time that I think of the course he ran, when I compare it with my own. I was consecrated on the day we celebrate his conversion, and proposed him to myself for a pattern. But God knows, how short the copy comes of the original." And, in this slight effusion of confidence, we have little hesitation in saying, that it is our belief that the archbishop's character, and the conduct of his life, should find the key to its just understanding. Archbishop King died 7th May 1729, having lived seventy-nine years and seven days.

To the character of the archbishop there are many testimonies; the most eminent among which may be reckoned those of Swift and Harris. We shall here select that of Harris as being by far the most comprehensive and appropriate. As to Swift, we may confine ourselves to a remark of Mr. Nichol's quoted by Bishop Mant, as far more significant than anything the dean has written on the subject. "With no other correspondent are the extravagances of Swift's humour, and the virulence of his prejudices, half so much restrained as in his letters to Archbishop King. He certainly feared or respected this prelate more than any other person with whom he corresponded." Swift feared no man—of this there are proofs enough—but the salient levity of his character stood rebuked before the real dignity and power of a mind which his discernment could not fail to perceive. Harris writes as follows:—"He appears in the tendency of his actions and endeavours, to have had the advancement of religion, virtue, and learning, entirely at heart; and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest, and most universally accomplished, and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the church were visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence. In his strict and regular visitations, both annual, triennial, and parochial; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching; and in the many excellent admonitions and charges he gave his clergy upon these occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the universities of England or Dublin; and who were, before their ordinations, publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon, and some of his chapter,—he may be counted worthy of double honour, who thus not only ruled well, but laboured in the word and doctrine." His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character, and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace that could adorn a public or private life."

The archbishop was buried in the churchyard of Donnybrook.

He left, by his will, £400, for the purchase of glebes in his diocese. He left £500, in addition to the same sum formerly given to the university for the foundation of a lecture in divinity. He also left £150 to the poor of the city; and he bequeathed the library which he had purchased from Dr Hopkins, for the use of the gentlemen and clergy of Derry.

REV. JOHN RICHARDSON.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1740.

FROM the time of bishop Bedell, attempts had been made by several individuals, among the bishops and clergy, for the spiritual instruction of the Irish in their own tongue. In 1710, circumstances occurred which tended very much to favour such efforts. By refusing to take the oath of abjuration, most of the Romish clergy had incurred liabilities which amounted to a suspension of their functions. The people soon began to feel the want consequent upon such a condition of their clergy; and in the course of a little time were glad to have recourse to those of the English church. The effects were very considerable, and there arose among the people a very common expression of approbation of the prayers and services, and a great show of interest in the reading of the scriptures. Of this it is mentioned as an instance, that two middle aged men, actually learned to read, that they might themselves read the sacred writings.

From these beginnings the interest spread, subscriptions were made, and numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry joined in a representation to the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, to desire his countenance and good offices; the duke referred it to the Irish bishops, who approved and referred it to the consideration of the convocation and parliament. A petition was also prepared and presented to queen Anne, who received it favourably. It is needless here to detail proceedings, which had no commensurate result: such undertakings as have the higher ends of religion for their aim will always be treated with ostensible respect by those who act in the public eye: it is when the preliminaries of formal respect are done, that they are shuffled aside in the long and tortuous labyrinth of party and official expedients and sideways.

Through this period, Mr Richardson, the historian of these efforts, a strenuous and effective labourer in the same service, was engaged in exertions of the most exemplary self-devotion, and unwearied toil for their success. He was patronized by the archbishop of Dublin, and in order to meet objections to the undertaking, wrote "A short history of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland," of which 3000 copies were printed, by order of the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge, of which he was a corresponding member: he also made repeated visits to London for the purpose of providing funds and obtaining support for the erection of charity schools; and subscriptions were opened at the Society's house, in Bartlett's buildings, and succeeded so far as to afford 6000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Church Catechism, with other translations of no

less utility for the same purpose. In the efforts which he made for this purpose, he is supposed to have received assistance from Swift, whose good offices were engaged by Archbishop King. He is two or three times alluded to by Swift, in his Journal, and his mission rather coldly and doubtfully mentioned. The archbishop, in a letter to Swift, states his opinion, that it was not desired very unanimously, that the native Irish should be converted. And this was, we cannot doubt, the main and only effectual obstacle to such a result. The protestant gentry of Ireland were then, as they have been since, far more zealous to act upon paltry and erroneous views of self-interest, than either for the welfare of the country, or the truths of religion. They saw, truly indeed, that a general conversion of the Irish would both add to the influence of the church, and that it would raise the people themselves to a condition of more real power (which is absolutely dependent on civilization,) by redeeming them from the tyranny of superstitions which bound them to the earth. But they did not see, that their own respectability must depend on that of the country, and that the value of their estates must sooner or later depend on the wealth of the community: they did not look to the consequence, now become so plain, that no country can advance to wealth, civilization, and civil liberty, with the gangrene of perpetual dissension in its bosom: and that the period must arrive when a dangerous inequality must be developed, between the popular power, and the popular civilization; for the one would flow in from the mere connexion with England, while the other would be dependent upon the dissemination and growth of the principles of truth and order. These things were not understood by a large and prevalent section of the Irish nobility and gentry, who were then willing to keep back the people lest their own church should be strengthened by their accession, as they have since shown themselves equally ready to oppress their own religion, by seconding undue and unconstitutional efforts, of which the pretence was to raise the condition of the people. In both cases have they been found warring against God, and in both the eventual record of history will be the mischief they have done, and the retribution they have suffered.

In our own times we are happy to say better prospects have in this respect arisen; not from the wisdom of parliament, or the care, patriotism, and piety, of the higher classes; but from the persevering energy of the church, the clear-headed sagacity of the Irish peasantry, and the blessing from above which never deserts the truth of God. Controversies of seemingly doubtful issue have had strange effects, even as yet imperfectly explained: the disputants for the papal creed adopted the dangerous artifice of comprehensive retractations and denials of the tenets which they found themselves unequal to defend: a retreat was covered by virtual concessions; but a people who had grown up at the feet of O'Connell were too sharp not to seize upon the consequences. A spirit of inquiry began; many falsities were rejected; the scriptures ceased to be the object of a superstitious prejudice; and at this moment, when there seems an authoritative and strong accession to the papal cause, popery is itself unconsciously losing its form, and stealing without recognition into the principles of the opposite side; so that there is no extravagance in surmising, that in the very season of triumph it will cease to exist.

To forward this desirable object should be now the main effort of every enlightened mind, of every protestant church. And happily no further obstruction is to be apprehended from either the ignorance of the peasantry, or the barrier presented by language. Nor are the people reluctant to hear, or slow to acknowledge, truths spoken in goodwill. But we must not be diverted further from our record.

The following letter from primate Boulter contains nearly all we have been able further to obtain of the life of this illustrious christian. It is written to the duke of Dorset.

“My Lord,

“The deanery of Duach or Kilmacduach, I know not which they call it, is now vacant by the death of Dr Northcote, worth about £120 or £140 per ann. I should be very much obliged to your Grace if you would be pleased to bestow it on Mr John Richardson, rector of Belturbet: he is a worthy person, and well affected to his majesty, and was many years ago concerned in a design to translate the Bible and Common Prayer into Irish, in order the better to bring about the conversion of the natives; but he met at that time with great opposition, not to say oppression here, instead of either thanks or assistance; and suffered the loss of several hundred pounds expended in printing the Common Prayer Book, and other necessary charges he was at in the undertaking.

“I should be very glad, I could contribute somewhat to make him a little easy in his circumstances, and procure him by your Grace’s favour some dignity in the church.

“I am, my Lord, &c.”

“DUBLIN, 3d Sept., 1730.”

The duke of Dorset consented, and he obtained the deanery; a subsequent attempt to exchange it for the deanery of Kilmore, worth £300, a-year failed. A like effort to gain the appointment to be chaplain of a regiment, likewise failed from Mr Richardson’s inability to raise a sum of money which it was customary to pay the colonel, on such appointments.

It appears from a passage in one of the primate’s letters, that he contributed from his private means to Mr Richardson’s maintenance.

Richardson was advanced in life at the period here alluded to, and the last notice we can find of him is in 1734. He is not likely to have long survived this period.

CHARLES LESLIE.

DIED A. D. 1722.

CHARLES LESLIE was the second son of Dr John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. He received the first rudiments of his education at Eniskillen, and in 1664 entered the university of Dublin as a fellow-commoner. He continued his studies in the college until he obtained his degree of A.M. after the regular period. He was perhaps designed

for holy orders by the bishop; but in 1671, on his father's death, he resolved on the study of the law, which to one of his uncommon powers of reasoning, must have offered strong attractions. But like many who are led from their course by such an impulse, he changed his mind after a few years, and entered upon the study of theology. We may be wrong in explaining his change of purpose by a very common succession of motives, of which we could adduce many living instances. The practice of the bar has a charm for the youthful, at that period when expertness and ingenuity seem to be the most important and elevated capabilities of the intellect, and the youthful mind, deeply engaged in acquiring the methods and principles of reasoning, has not yet obtained an adequate notion of their proper aim and end. The bar alone retains the ancient character of a system of dialectic antagonism, and thus appears to offer a fair field for the prowess of the young logician. There is, however, a wide chasm of probation to be passed, of which the youthful aspirant has seldom formed any notion: but, during his attendances at Inns of court,—while forming a first acquaintance with the true principles, the practice, and the members of his intended profession—he begins to perceive that a long course of duller and drier studies must be passed, and years of less ambitious drudgery must elapse before he can acquire the enviable privilege of chopping chancery logic. In the mean time, if he may chance to have, like Charles Leslie, an intellect bent for the higher applications of reason in the broader and loftier field of philosophic research, and the investigation of truth, his reflecting powers will often be drawn aside by the many profound questions, doubts, and speculations, which are in numberless forms presenting themselves to every thinking person. And there is no one path of professional study so various or so wide in the range of truths it offers, or so fertile in true and satisfactory solutions, as that of the theologian. The real aim and end of human existence—the history and destinies of man—the true grounds of motive and obligation—the mingled web of good and evil in moral and physical nature—the foundation in fact and probability of all these, while they offered a grasp to the comprehensive intellect not to be found in any other pursuit; at the same time appear in a sounder, more simple, and satisfactory form, in the writings of our great English divines, than in the confused and contradictory speculations of mere philosophy. Indeed, there is a result which not unfrequently has occurred, when the bar was less educated than in the present day; and therefore liable to admit the taint of that infidel tone which is the frequent result of shallow ingenuity combined with ignorance: in a circle thus constituted, a scholar like Leslie would be very likely to be thrown upon an anxious effort to recollect and keep in view the rational grounds of faith. Nor would it unfrequently occur, that he might be compelled to stand upon his defence and wield those powers, which were so happily displayed in his argument against the Deists, and which have made the world his debtor.

After nearly nine years spent in the study of law, he entered into holy orders in 1680, and in a few years more, was appointed chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor. About the same year, an occasion presented itself for the exercise of his controversial powers. The

bishop of Clogher having died, the see was filled by the appointment of a bishop of the Romish church, by James II. This bishop, whose name was Patrick Tyrrel, brought several well-trained disputants along with him, and at his visitation had recourse to the singularly indiscreet step of proclaiming a challenge to the Protestant clergy: these, on their part, were then, as ever, willing to maintain their profession, and Leslie accepted the challenge. Of the result we have no distinct record; but, at a second meeting for the same purpose, he met two very eminent persons selected for the occasion, in the church of Tynan in Armagh, before a very crowded assembly; and his success is more distinctly indicated by the fact, that Mr John Stewart, a gentleman of respectability, was so convinced that he renounced the papal creed.

In the same troubled period, when there was a confusion of public authorities occasioned by the efforts of James II. and his party, to substitute papists for protestants in every post of authority, an incident occurred which manifests the influence which Leslie's reputation had gained by his talent and probity. A sheriff of the papal faith was appointed in Monaghan: the gentry of the country took the alarm, and flocked to Leslie for advice. His advice was given; but they requested his personal attendance on the bench at the approaching sessions, as a justice of peace; and promised faithfully to support him. He had the gout, and was carried with much severe suffering to court. There, a question was put to the sheriff, "whether he was legally qualified:" he answered that "he was of the king's own religion, and that it was his majesty's will that he should be sheriff;" Leslie then told him "that they were not inquiring into his majesty's religion, but whether he had qualified himself according to law, for acting as a proper officer. That the law was the king's will, and nothing else was to be deemed such, &c.:"—on this, the sheriff was committed for intrusion and contempt, by the bench.

This spirited conduct is, indeed, the more creditable to Leslie, because it stands separated from all party feelings, as his known political prepossessions lay entirely in the opposite direction. Though like every person of honest heart, and sound understanding, he condemned the treacherous and unconstitutional proceedings of James; yet, on the other hand, he refused to recognise the extreme case which had arrived. Like a few other honest and able men, his mind submitted to a prejudice which had grown up in the hotbed of absolute power, and under the shade of despotic thrones maintained by papal power. The notion of an indefeasible divine right had not yet been assailed by the writers of the revolution. And while the plain common sense of the practical part of the nation followed the suggestions of an apparent necessity; some who, like Leslie, had been trained within the pale of theories and systems, sternly adhered to the lessons they had learned in their school of constitutional theory. This, in our opinion, is the true account of this seeming absurdity in a man of Leslie's profound understanding. And we cannot help considering it important for the purpose of reconciling the able understanding in controversies and questions, with the seeming inconsistencies and practical errors of this truly able and good man, to remind the reader of the differ-

ence which occasionally offers itself in experience between the precise and deep thinker, and the prudent and practical man of the world. The several qualifications of such persons are both common enough, perhaps in their separate perfection; but it does not very frequently happen that they are found together. A large development of the powers of external perception, and a profound expansion of the faculties which can familiarly move in the depths of abstraction, include some opposing habits, and perhaps conditions of the understanding. There is, thus, a simplicity in the philosopher which sometimes exposes him to be the dupe of shallow knaves; and that such was characteristic of this illustrious divine, there is much evidence in his life, and even some in his writings. Of the first, we shall presently offer specimens enough: of the latter, we may adduce in evidence some facts which we would fain dismiss before we proceed further. We mean his strange contradiction of the statements of archbishop King's well-known history of those troubles of which he was an honest and sagacious witness, and which, from their nature, and the prominent character of the events which they relate, admit of little mistake. Now, it must be observed, that the whole history of the archbishop, and all his letters and other writings, plainly manifest all the indications which can be sought for of sagacity and integrity. During the troubles in question, he was not only an intelligent and watchful actor, but he was also placed in a position the very best for observation. Any one, however able, may be liable to err in his public sentiments, or in his deductions of political consequences; but, it is only a fool who can be persuaded that he is in the very midst of a scene of outrage, oppression, and flagrant crime, where there is all the time little or no ground for it. The writers who would impute such folly cannot have considered the numerous absurdities which it involves; and they who would suspect the whole to be a mere party statement, either have not reflected on the high character of the writer, or must themselves think truth and falsehood matters of entire indifference. Again, to apply similar considerations to Leslie—he was not a witness, —he was a zealous partisan—his temper was pre-eminently controversial—and though a reasoner of unequalled power, he was far from possessing either the knowledge of Irish affairs, the observant sagacity, or the neutral spirit of Archbishop King. Thus modified by circumstances and natural temper, the several courses pursued by these two eminent men are to be compared. King, when he had adopted the principles of the most eminent whigs, the same which time has approved, pursued them without manifesting the slightest tendency to party; and when the revolution was confirmed, applied himself to his own official duties with an active and uncompromising zeal which gave offence to the government, who were disappointed to find no subserviency in one who had given them a constitutional support, and was as ready to offer a constitutional opposition. And such is the person who has been accused of publishing in the face of a million of adverse witnesses, a collection of the most outrageous and monstrous lies. Such a charge demands better authority than has been yet found.

Now, on the other hand, let us look again at Leslie's course of conduct.

Being infirm from disease, and obnoxious on account of his controversial achievements—on the first breaking out of the troubles, he retired with his family to England. There the contest being mainly one of political feeling, he entered, with zeal, into sympathy with the Jacobites; and, having adopted a mistaken principle of *irrespective* loyalty, he entered with all the spirit and ability of his character, into the controversy which was carried on by pamphlets on either side. His first Essay was the answer to King's statement; written, away from the scene, and without any authority whatever, but the strong and daring contradictions of angry and fugitive Jacobites,—the eye-witnesses whom he is said to have questioned. Of these, some were vindictive, some terrified; many careless of assertion, and willing to derive the importance attached to strong statements; and few had seen more than the local incidents connected with their own immediate apprehensions. Among these, the philosophic divine, honest and ready to trust in those with whom he had a common feeling, looked for information, and found such information as may now be found in rival newspapers.

Assuredly, it is not too much to say, that such a pamphlet as was written under such circumstances, and on such authority, would never be cited by any respectable historian, against the statements of King, which have all the authenticity of which history admits. And also, that confirmatory evidence which we have already explained in these pages;* that is to say, that which arises from a view of the *whole* history of the time, as well from the avowed designs as the express admissions of the parties. We must now revert to our history.

Though Leslie considered resistance to illegal proceedings, justifiable, it did not occur to him to follow out such an assumption to its extreme consequences; and, having refused to take the new oaths, he lost all his preferments. In 1689, he went with his family to live in England, where, as we have stated, he devoted his talents to the support of the cause which he conscientiously adopted; and there can be no doubt but, had that cause succeeded, his efforts must have found their reward. He quickly rose to such importance by this means, as to incur the suspicions of government, as well as to rise into high favour with the exiled court. It was soon observed that he made frequent visits to France, where he was received with distinction at St Germain. On the publication of a tract asserting the "Hereditary Right," he found himself an object of suspicion, and retired to Bar-le-duc, to the pretender's court, where he was received with distinction, and the favour which his zeal had earned.

While in the pretender's court, he is said to have exerted himself to convert him to the protestant faith. His influence was also proved by a permission to read the service of the church of England in the family. But the pretender never appeared on these occasions, though it is asserted that he promised to hear all that Leslie had to say upon the errors of the church of Rome,—a promise which he took care to break. Leslie's zeal seems to have been courageous, and perhaps unfortunate—as it was thought necessary to prohibit controversy among

* Life of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

the members of the household. These particulars we have here thrown together more briefly than their interest would seem to require, as we are anxious to do this illustrious divine the justice of devoting the rest of the little space which can be allotted to his memoir, to the statement of his claims upon our gratitude. On his character as a Jacobite, we need enter no further than to observe that it was strictly a sacrifice to conscience, though (very naturally perhaps,) misrepresented in his own time by party. His conduct was one of those cases which has often occurred, and will often occur, and always be misrepresented: when a person, in the strictest adherence to *his own* political theory, must change sides in merely following out his principles, it is on such occasions forgotten that party is not necessarily consistent, and that—considering that it is seldom the creature of pure theory—its system of action may involve both opposite courses, and inconsistent principles. In Leslie's instance, it is true that this was not precisely the fact; his own theory contained the inconsistencies, but he was himself consistent in adhering to it. Bishop Burnet, who mentions him as a violent whig, who suddenly changed to the Jacobites,* does him great injustice. He resisted unconstitutional efforts to subvert the laws and the protestant church; but maintained the allegiance which he considered as having as binding a claim upon him.

In 1721, he came over to England, from the natural desire to "die at home at last." His character, well known as a formidable writer on the tory side, quickly exposed him to notice; the whigs were then in office, and lord Sunderland received an intimation of his being in the country. This, it is almost needless to say, was disregarded, and Leslie was allowed to return unmolested to Ireland. He did not long survive, having died in the following year at his own house of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

Besides those political tracts which were so important in their day, Leslie left works of great and permanent interest, which entitle him to a high place in the first rank of theological writers. In the hurry and vicissitudes of a life of unusual agitation and trial, he not only sustained a prominent character in the struggles of his time; but also left two folios replete with sound and able views upon all the leading controversies of the age. He maintained the Christian religion against the Jew—the protestant creed against that of Rome—he proved the divine institution of baptism against the Quakers—vindicated episcopacy against presbyterians—the divinity of our Lord against the Socinian—and the truth of the gospel against the Deists.

As the most generally important, and least connected with any class of opinions to which respect need be preserved, we select the last for the exemplification of the writer's powers. We shall first, however, quote a few general sentences of just and characteristic praise. "The members of the church in general, not only of his own but of succeeding ages, have acknowledged the debt; and the works of Charles Leslie still continue to be held in esteem; not indeed for the allurements of an elaborate style, but for their soundness of argument—their perspicuity of reasoning—their earnestness of sentiment

* *Own Time*, vol. ii. 323.—Ed. Dub. 1734.

—and withal, their substantial support of the Christian verity.” Of Leslie’s argumentative powers in particular, Dr Johnson had formed a high estimate. Having on a certain occasion, as Boswell tells, spoken slightly of the reasoning of the nonjuring divines, and made objections to the several claims advanced in favour of William Law, of Jeremy Collier, of Kenn, of Kettlewell, in answer to the question, “What do you think of Leslie?” he said, “Charles Leslie, I had forgotten; Leslie *was* a reasoner, and a *reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.*”*

Of the argument against the Deist, an interesting history is given by its editor, Mr Jones, who received the particulars from Dr Delany, dean of Down, on the authority of Captain Leslie, the author’s son; this we shall give in Mr Jones’ own words. “It was the fortune of Mr Leslie to be acquainted with the duke of Leeds of that time; who observed to him, that although he was a believer of the Christian religion, he was not satisfied with the common methods of proving it: that the argument was long and complicated, so that some had neither leisure nor patience to follow it, and others were not able to comprehend it: that as it was the nature of all truth to be plain and simple, if Christianity were a truth, there must be some short way of showing it to be so, and he wished Mr Leslie would think of it. Such a hint to such a man, in the space of three days, produced a rough draught of the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, which he presented to the Duke, who looked it over, and then said, ‘I thought I was a Christian before, but I am sure of it now—and as I am sure of it now—and as I am indebted to you for converting me, I shall, henceforth, look upon you as my spiritual father!’ And he acted accordingly; for he never came into his company afterwards without asking his blessing. Such is the story, very nearly as Dr Delany would himself tell it, if he were now alive.”

The proof of christianity offers by far the most perfect exemplification of the laws of probable reasoning through their whole extent: being in fact the only case which is complete in all its parts. And thus it happens that there is no other event in history, which admits of being proved by so many distinct arguments; and there is no method of applying either the rules of evidence, or the laws of moral reasoning which cannot be used with the most conclusive result. The superior intellect of Leslie is manifested in discovering the concurrent force of certain main arguments, which had been always separately understood by christian apologists. This combination offers a proof of such surpassing force, that there is no direct answer but the one which denies certain data, which, being facts beyond the reach of denial, has not, and will not, be attempted by the deist, who has thereby been forced to evade the argument in a manner which has only served to leave a most curious test of its validity. To understand this interesting fact, Leslie’s proposition must be stated. It is briefly this, that certain conditions are fulfilled in the history and present state of christianity, which are entirely irreconcilable with falsehood. Mr Leslie’s method consists in the statement of four conditions “of truth in matters of fact

* Mant’s History, 11—39. See also Boswell, by Croker, viii. 287.

in general, such that when they all meet, such matters of fact cannot be false." He then shows that they all meet in the several histories of the Mosaic and of the christian religions.

The rules are:—"1st. That the matters of fact be such as that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it. 2d. That it be done publicly in the face of the world. 3d. That not only public monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward actions be performed. 4th. That such monuments, and such actions or observances, be instituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done." As Mr Leslie's method is a brief method, it would be impossible for us here to give a summary of the admirable statements and illustrations by which he applies these four rules. But as numerous readers may not from our statement see the *whole* force of the argument, on account of the *separate* insufficiency of the rules, it may not be amiss briefly to point out the connexion.

The first guards against the witnesses being deceived by any kind of sleight; the second, against their imposing on the public by a false story; the third secures the most authentic species of evidence to after times; and the fourth prevents the possibility of this evidence being spurious. Now the peculiarity of this combination is, that any three of these rules might be fulfilled consistently with *some* form of imposture, either at the time, or after, while the four amount to a clear and demonstrative exclusion of all the possibilities of falsehood. This is indeed at first sight so apparent to any practised reasoner, that we have always been inclined to feel some doubt on the story of the celebrated deist, Middleton, who is mentioned on very good authority to have for twenty years vainly exercised ingenuity of no inferior order, to find a case of undoubted imposture which would satisfy the four conditions.* He might assuredly have as well endeavoured to find a rectilinear triangle having the sum of its angles not equal to 180°. For if there are conclusive proofs that the witnesses of a fact were not deceived themselves, and could not have deceived others, there could have been no deception. The general proposition is an absolute demonstration, not dependent on the nature of the facts, but on the most strict assumptions that reason could propose as tests of evidence.

To this severe test, Leslie next proceeds in circumstantial detail to apply the evidences of the two great scriptural dispensations. This little volume we most earnestly recommend to the perusal of all our readers of every class. For those, whose faith is inclined to be unsteady, it will do as much as can be hoped for from mere human reason. For those who are confirmed, it will arm them with the most convenient and ready weapons against that infidel spirit which exists, and must exist, while human nature continues in its present state of sinful alienation; for, infidelity, quite unfounded in the legitimate use of reason, is but the development of the carnal temper of the heart—"deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,—who shall know it?"

This one of Leslie's admirable tracts may serve as a specimen of

* "This," writes Mr Jones, "I learned from Dr Berkeley, son to the celebrated bishop of Cloyne." *Preface to Leslie's Short Method*, 1799.

the others : all of which evince the same clear and unencumbered vigour of intellectual power, though, from the nature of their subjects, they have not all the same interest at the present time.

FRANCIS KIRWAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KILLALA.

BORN A.D. 1589.—DIED A.D. 1671.

FRANCIS KIRWAN was born in Galway in 1589. By his mother he was descended from the Linches—a branch of the De Lacys—a family descended from the knight of that name, recorded in our biographies of the Conquest, of whom it is said that more members held the office of Mayor of Galway than of any other family in that city. His father is said to have claimed descent from Roderick, one of the early Irish kings. He received the first rudiments of education from an uncle who discharged the priestly office, and taught a school in that ancient city under difficulties and dangers arising from the persecutions then attendant on the discharge of these duties by the Roman Catholic clergy. From Galway Francis proceeded to Lisbon to study in the higher classics. Returned thence to Ireland, he was ordained priest in 1614, being then in his twenty-fifth year. In 1615 he proceeded to France, and studied in the congregation of the Oratory at Dieppe; where he taught philosophy some years after, and until he was removed, against his inclination, by another maternal uncle to the University of Louvain in Belgium, and to the presence of the then Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, a learned and opulent Irish priest, who was then in search of a fit person to represent him in the office of Vicar-General in Ireland, and to succeed in that office the uncle referred to, banished from Ireland for complicity in the attempted rebellion of the last Earl of Tyrone. Young as Kirwan was, he was judged qualified, and accepted the office with alacrity, proceeding to Ireland in 1620 to discharge its onerous duties. So long as he held it, he travelled on foot once a-year over the entire district, including the Wilds of Connemara and the Arran Isles, satisfied with the humblest fare, reproving evil-doers, correcting the irregular lives of the clergy, and removing, until qualified by study, the ignorant and incompetent, and retaining them for that purpose under his own roof, as well as many of those who were preparing themselves for holy orders. Out of his limited revenues he exercised a generous hospitality; aided in fitting up and equipping the private residences acquired by the priests for religious services during the limited period of the reign of Charles I., when these were winked at, until the alarm of the Puritans constrained the authorities to seize and confiscate them; founded a lazaret-house for the lepers whom privations had afflicted with that malady, now happily unknown; refitted with chimneys, windows, and decent furniture the hospital of Galway; bestowed alms with discriminating liberality on the non-mendicant poor and prisoners; and urged to similar acts of charity those over whom he had any influence. As a peace-maker he exerted himself to compose differences and end law-suits. Many cases before the Courts having been settled by his solicited arbitrations, the legal

practitioners, being left without expected emoluments, obtained a warrant from Dublin for his apprehension; but the Protestant governor of Galway Castle, to whom it was sent, admiring his virtues, not only warned him to keep out of the way when his house was searched, but was preparing to send another of the same name in his stead, until he learned the latter was the father of a large family, and let him go.

Although denied the open exercise of their religion, the Roman Catholic laymen were not then prevented from exercising civil offices, and when magistrates and peers in their exercise of such failed to do justice, or oppressed their suitors, or those accused before them, Kirwan did not fail to approach them and mildly warn them of the consequences in terms that rarely failed to keep them in the paths of rectitude. Against the evils of intemperance, which then prevailed among the craftsmen of Galway, especially in their guild meetings, he firmly set his face, and succeeded in establishing stated meetings, in which each craft assembled in turn, and which were by an ecclesiastic successfully exhorted to renounce taverns and drunkenness, and devote themselves to industry and frugality. Nor, when necessary, did he cease to confine himself to moral suasion. He was eminently master of the vernacular, and could produce great effects in it on the minds of his hearers. Having established monitors in each parish, who returned to him the names of those therein who lived in great immorality, when admonitions on his parochial visitations failed, he did not spare his authority, which he carried to an extent which only the disordered state of the country permitted to use. Magnifying the consequences of excommunication (as involving the loss of ordinances and recognition of friends), before proceeding to read the names of the guilty present, he struck such terror into all, and such shame in the delinquents, that these last hid themselves behind the crowd, and then, turning to the memorandum, he said he would desist for this time in the hope they would henceforth lead proper lives. He even caused to be publicly whipped by his order those who obstinately persevered in adultery, nor would he re-admit to the sacrament those whom he had cut off until they had made public penance with reparation for the evil done.

He also gave himself much to works of utility. He built bridges over brooks and rivers, and stone crossings over marshy places. On one occasion the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam was surprised to see men employed by him building a bridge over the stream near by the archiepiscopal palace of that city, which could often not be forded in winter, but when on inquiry he learned they were employed by Kirwan, he not only desisted from forbidding the work, although within his jurisdiction, but caused refreshments to be supplied from his palace to the workmen. This Protestant archbishop was William Daniel, a learned and good man, who translated the New Testament into Irish, with which language, being a native, he was familiar.

Kirwan administered the affairs of the archdiocese of Tuam for nine years, until the death of Archbishop Conry in 1629; declined all offers of his friends at Rome to procure his own appointment to the charge on the occasion of the vacancy; discharged the duties of his former office until he was re-appointed by Malachy, the successor in the see; and continued to exercise it for seven years longer, when he resolved to

resign it in order to conduct a number of young men to France, there to receive an education of the highest character, to qualify for the priesthood in Ireland, and especially in his diocese of Tuam. So greatly was he esteemed, that to avoid a vast concourse of all classes who assembled to witness his departure, he left Galway by another gate, yet about forty of them took horse and accompanied him, some of them as far as Dublin, and one even through England to France.

The seminary which, after some delay on account of illness, he set up in Caen was some years afterwards broken up by the interruption of communications with Ireland on account of the wars of the Great Rebellion; and therefore of the remissions of the funds for its support. Kirwan then proceeded to Paris, and occupied himself in preparing and forwarding supplies of various religious orders into Ireland. During this period he firmly resisted entreaties to be invested with the Episcopal order, until Archbishop Malachi, from whom they chiefly proceeded, obtained from the Pope, in 1645, not only a commission to appoint him Bishop of Killala, but instructions to the Nuncio at Paris, to whom the bull was sent, to join with others to press its acceptance upon him, in which, notwithstanding his modest reluctance, they ultimately succeeded, and Kirwan returned to Ireland and to his charge in 1646.

During his residence in Paris, Kirwan acquired the intimacy and favour of three men, more remarkable for their exalted piety than any to be found at this time in that metropolis, viz., St. Vincent de Paul, Father Geoffrey, and the Baron de Renty; the first the founder of the order of missionaries; the second, like another Howard, spent his life in alleviating the misery in, and of the jails; and the last, one who devoted his large fortune and his life to the relief and instruction of the poor. On the advice of these three friends Kirwan gathered together the Irish students then in Paris, with the object of instructing them, and then sending them back to Ireland as lay teachers and conservators there of the knowledge of the Roman Catholic faith, having been assured by them that ample means would be provided for the support of the scheme. No sooner, however, was the proposal announced by Kirwan than a storm arose; one of those present broke out into invectives against him as insincere, and a pretender to virtues which he did not possess. Francis bore this unexpected attack with patience, and even gave assistance to those who had been his disciples, for through his intimacy with Father Charles Taure, then appointed general of the order of the Canons Regular in France, he obtained admission of some of them into this order, which he held in high regard. And after he returned to Ireland, he caused one of his former pupils to repair to France from Seville in order to take the oversight of the rest of them. Through his intimacy with the foundress of the Ursuline Convent at Caen, he obtained, that a few talented Irish maidens might be received gratuitously in her establishment, in order that they might be instructed in her rule, so as afterwards to introduce at her expense, and advance, when circumstances permitted, that order in Ireland—an order which devotes itself exclusively to the education of females in a thorough fitness for all the duties of a refined and Christian life.

During the brief interval of tranquillity following his return, Kirwan

applied himself to the duties of his sacred office with self-denying assiduity, especially to those which concerned the indigent, and the inmates of jails and of hospitals. He was constant in his attendance at the General Assemblies of the kingdom, held in Kilkenny and Waterford, and for the sound judgment and perspicacity shown by him on the matters brought forward, as well as his great prudence, he was elected to the Supreme Council. He acquired through his great reputation the favour of the Marquis of Clanricarde, whose noble descent and princely fortune, as well as adornments of mind, led to his being appointed Lord Lieutenant by Charles I., when his affairs in Ireland became desperate, greatly to the satisfaction of the Irish Catholics, being the first appointment of one of their faith to that office since the period of the Reformation. Both before and after this appointment, Kirwan was a frequent guest at the Castle of Portumna, the residence of the Marquis, on the occasion of his journeys, as it lay in his route to Kilkenny and Waterford. Gifts of large amount, offered to him by the Marchioness and other noble persons, on such occasions were invariably refused by him, nor would he even allow his servants to accept of them, on the alleged ground that their losses from the perilous times would not allow such customs, although common in past times; but it is probable he also wished to be free from obligations that might influence him in his public conduct during that critical epoch.

With a boldness consistent with his character, he did not hesitate to join with the moderate Catholic party in the supreme council, in opposition to, and notwithstanding of the decree of excommunication hurled against that party by the Papal Nuncio in 1648, on account of the articles of peace entered into by them with the Earl of Inchiquin on the part of the king. This conduct was the more praiseworthy, as the Nuncio had expressed extreme friendship towards him from his first appearance as a bishop in Ireland, and had invariably availed himself of the assistance of Kirwan in consecrating Irish prelates. But the aim of this ill-advised and intemperate ecclesiastic, an Italian named John Baptiste Rinuccini, being the total and forcible expulsion of the Protestant population, as well as the disruption of English connection and rule, was the opposite of the peace and tranquillity of Ireland on which the affections of Kirwan were set, as well as that of all but the few fanatics of the northern provinces, whose aim was rather to restore anarchy and barbaric power than even the predominance of their faith in that unhappy country, for the attainment of which end they did not hesitate, with the consent of the Nuncio himself, to form an alliance with one of the generals of the commonwealth, so as to embarrass the confederation in support of the king. Some time afterwards, when the royal authority was overthrown, Kirwan did not hesitate to submit to the authority of the Church by asking absolution from that excommunication, although it was doubtful, at least, whether bishops could be included in any formal excommunication unless actually named. But he acted, says his biographer, on the counsel of St. Jerome, who says, "We may seek forgiveness without a fault, when we deem it wiser to restore peace than to fight battles upon equality."

During these troublous times he was driven from his see by the forces of the northern Catholics of the party of Sir Phelim O'Neill, and forced

to take refuge in Galway, but returned in August 1649, when a brief ray of tranquillity had shone on Connaught—a severe pestilence having in the meantime broken out in that city—and remained there until July 1651, when he led as many of the forces of the district as he could raise to the relief of the city of his refuge, then laid siege to by the Parliamentarians, causing a priest to precede him with a cross raised, and calling on the people to fight for their king, altars, and country. His moderation was eminently shown during this period on an occasion when, having been asked to be present at a sermon to be preached by a friar of a certain convent within his diocese before a great multitude, the preacher, to the surprise of all, leaving the topics suited to the occasion, launched forth into invectives against his bishop for the part he had taken in these troubles with much contumely and many imprecations. The bishop, who showed no astonishment during the discourse, sent for the preacher after the sermon was ended, and before the brotherhood so clearly convinced him and them of the wrong done him, as to cast them all on their knees to ask his pardon. He also showed his accustomed skill in reconciling enemies and healing litigations, his liberality in assisting the poor, and his generosity by giving the shelter of his own house to many who had been expelled from their homes by the enemy. Even in the midst of civil war and general distress, he set about the repair of ecclesiastical edifices, and collected a great quantity of the necessary materials for the repair of his cathedral, while he surrounded his episcopal residence with a wall.

Galway having yielded to its besiegers on 12th April 1652, on conditions which were broken, the entire province of Connaught shortly after passed into the hands of the party of the Commonwealth, who took possession of his residence, and bestowed it on Walter S. œvola de Burgo, a Catholic gentleman, whose castle had been seized by them some time previous without warrant, and in compensation of that violent act. In this they furnished a place of shelter to our bishop from their pursuit, for Sœvola kept him concealed in a small dark room, much infested with rats. During eight months he only left it once, on the occasion of a search for arms, when he was carried out in a sheet, refusing to take a place at the family board, lest he should compromise his protector. A chest, which was all the furniture the room could accommodate, was daily converted into an altar, on which, with the assistance of his chaplain, mass was celebrated. Here, without fire, he passed an entire winter, preferring the hardships of a pent-up closet to less straitened residences, as it enabled him to keep up communication with his flock, and to minister counsels and consolation to them.

On one occasion the General of the Commonwealth commanding in the district, having contracted a friendship with the noble family of his host, made him a visit, accompanied by his wife, officers, and military friends. During an entertainment, the host having left, a conversation between the mistress of the house and his lady in reference to our bishop, in which it was stated he had gone away, being overheard by the General, he observed, "I can point with my finger to the window of the room in this house in which he lies concealed," to the great consternation of the hostess, who informed her husband on his return that some informer must have given intelligence against them to their ruin,

and at the same time that the guests were anxious to see the hidden one. On this being imparted by him to our bishop, he accepted the fact as the will of God, and accordingly next day, after religious services, he presented himself to the English party to their great wonderment, the General's wife declaring to him, "We have heard that many of your order have done much against us, but of you we have always heard good things spoken by every person." The conversation turned upon religion, when the bishop defended his own in a brief and dignified speech. After he retired, the General expressed his veneration for him, and said he would take no measures against, and would even reclaim him as his prisoner should he fall into hands within the limits of his jurisdiction of any not under his command. Having learned, however, that a body of Puritans more fierce and implacable in hostility to the priests were about to be marched into the district, the bishop, lest he should compromise his host or his host's friends, retired, surrounded by his friends, who wept at his departure, and directed his steps towards Galway, trusting to the stipulations of the recent treaty for his personal safety, which city, after being plundered and narrowly escaping being taken prisoner several times on the way, he reached safely in disguise, and there remained for some time protected by his well-wishers. On a rumour of his being sheltered, informers were at work to point out houses he was likely to frequent, but the search, although close and severe, generally took place after the bishop had left, although at times he was closely pressed, and obliged to escape along the roofs of the houses, and on one occasion they were turned away when within a short distance of the room in which he lay. On another occasion they got possession of all his ecclesiastical furniture, which they broke or tore to pieces and scattered. Having, however, contracted a malady from confinement and cold, he gave himself up to the governor, who, believing he would not long survive, took security for his appearance, and forbade his being further troubled. But he recovered, and applied himself to the work of a peacemaker, for which the spirit of litigation among even the persecuted and conquered party gave him abundant occasion.

In June 1663 all the clerics of the province were ordered to present themselves, as well those on bail as those as yet at large, and our bishop as well as the Archbishop of Tuam, also on bail, among the rest, and this summons was generally complied with. Instead of committing them to the common prisons, houses were hired at the prisoners' cost, where they were kept under a military guard. Even here, like the good Vicar of Wakefield, our bishop contrived to occupy himself in works of goodness. He reconciled enemies, and he confessed penitents visiting him with this object. Children were brought to the windows in the rear of the house to be confirmed, and with the priests he held edifying disputations and reasonings on religious subjects.

Suddenly, after fourteen months in this kind of imprisonment, the whole party were marched, without any notice, surrounded by a strong guard of musketeers, and embarked on a ship for Nantes, where with singular good fortune they landed on the fourth day. It was believed the reason for this hasty proceeding was that the impression made on their adherents, by the services under circumstances so peculiar, of their

hierarchy was more than all the efforts of the Protestant preachers could undo, in retaining them in their ancient faith. Now broken down by age and sufferings, the bishop found himself on landing in the face of want and destitution, and compelled to sell his books and personal effects. The States of Brittany soon relieved him so far, by a vote of fifty Louis d'or, as they had pensioned many Irish bishops before, some during fifteen years of exile, but the greater part of this sum he expended on articles for his poorer companions. By a committee of the same States he was consulted as to the conflicting claims of emigrant Irish nobles and priests upon a small fund placed at their disposal. With great magnanimity he advised that those of the nobles should be preferred, as having no other means of subsistence, while the priests could eke out a moderate subsistence by saying masses, and because the nobles had from the time of Elizabeth supported out of their means all orders of the clergy, then deprived of all ecclesiastical revenue. For this advice the bishop incurred ill-will at the hands of the exiled priests, being charged with acting against the clergy.

During his exile he received great kindness from various friends, who received him into their houses. Subsequently he resided constantly with the family of a M. de Biqueneul, and after the death of that gentleman with his sons-in-law and daughters, who bestowed on him the most lavish hospitality, in compliance with their father's testament, which they were directed to continue to the latest moment of his life. He died on the 27th day of August 1671, after six years of exile, spending these as the earlier ones, in the constant practice of good works, and in the discharge of every devotional duty, private and public. This event took place at Rennes, at the house of M. de la Poliere, one of the sons-in-law of his friend De Biqueneul, of a virulent malady by infection, while in the exercise of the priestly office administering the last rites to one of its victims. His obsequies attracted immense crowds, such as rarely occurs at the most solemn festivals; all the religious orders of the locality, the colleges of the parochial churches, and the canons of the cathedral taking part in the ceremony.

The memory of this gentle and devoted prelate has been preserved in a biographical memoir from the pen of Archdeacon Lynch, a work which long lay buried in its original Latin, but which in that form was so highly prized by Christians of all denominations that the copy belonging to the late Bishop Heber fetched the large sum of £18 10s. A reprint, with a parallel English version, by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, was published in Dublin in 1848. Such men as Francis Kirwan, who would do honour to any church, ought not to be forgotten in the catalogue of eminent and illustrious Irishmen.

JOHN LYNCH (ROMAN CATHOLIC), ARCHDEACON OF TUAM.

BORN CIRCA 1599. DIED ANTE 1674.

THE family of the Lynches, to which Dr. John Lynch belonged, claims descent from Hugh de Lacy of the first race of Norman invaders, a memoir of whom appears in our first volume. He was born in Galway, according to the more careful inferences from his own statements, about the year 1599. Tradition reports his father to have been one Alexander Lynch, a teacher in Galway, of whom Usher gives a high character, which carries the more probability, as in 1608 he had no less than 1200 scholars from all parts of Ireland, including even the Pale. The school was suppressed nominally in 1615; but the suppression was only temporary, for we find from Dr. Lynch's writings, that notwithstanding the enactment of a penal statute in 1634, there were dignitaries of the Romish communion in that town teaching schools down to its capture by Cromwell's forces in 1652. The Lynches appear to be frequently mentioned with honour in the records and monuments of that ancient town. They gave, with only one exception, a greater number of distinguished ecclesiastics to that communion than any other family in Ireland.

He was sent to France when entering his eighteenth year, and was engaged in the study of the humanities at Dieppe in 1618. He received his earlier education from the Jesuits, of whom he always speaks with respect. It is not known when he returned to Ireland, but it is inferred from his own statement that he was ordained priest about the year 1622. Like many of his predecessors in Galway he taught a school, and acquired a great reputation for classical learning. He was engaged also on the Irish mission, celebrating mass in private houses and secret places until 1642, when the Ulster insurrection opened the parish churches to the Catholics. He describes in glowing terms his emotions on first celebrating mass in a public consecrated building, yet never fails to stigmatise the rebellion of 1641 which procured this liberty for his Church in Ireland as "ill-omened, miserable, and fatal." Appointed Archdeacon of Tuam, he lived apart from the turbid politics of that epoch in an old castle. Being opposed on principle to the interference of the clergy in the crooked and unnatural politics of his times, his name does not appear in any of the voluminous contemporary documents on the wars and deliberations of the Irish Catholics from 1641 to 1652. Yet he held decided opinions on the distracting questions which these documents discussed. Born in the town of Galway, which had always been loyal, he could not approve of the rising of the Ulster Irish, nor the pretensions of any party irreconcilable with loyalty to the king of England. "His own brief experience," says his biographer, "had taught him to hope for the gradual and peaceful triumph of justice over the privileges of creed and race. From the close of the reign of James I., persecution on the score of religion had relaxed; the religion of Rome had been embraced by the sons of some of the most distinguished families planted under Elizabeth; the old Anglo-Irish families—the Butlers, the Burkes, Nugents, and Fitzgeralds

—still died in that religion, though the heads of these families sometimes temporised during life; the strong arm of Wentworth had compressed all the jarring elements of Irish society into something like unity, and consequently mutual toleration. The animosities that had hitherto obtained between the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish clergy of the communion were dying away. A society called 'The Peaceful Association,' founded in 1620 by David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, had been combining their energies for the common good, and the prejudices of some of the most intolerant of the ascendant party were gradually yielding before the softening influence of common literary tastes. Everything promised that that fond dream—the dream of the union of Irishmen on grounds of perfect equality in every respect, religious and political—would soon become a reality."—"These hopes, Dr. Lynch believed, were blasted by the rashness of the Ulster Irish, which precipitated the catastrophe of 1641."

Dr. Lynch defended the Catholic confederation of 1642 as the only means of self-defence against the rapacity and fanaticism of the extreme English party, which sought in the strong emotion created by the barbarities of that Ulster rising to involve the whole Catholic communion in odium, leading to severities provoking confiscation. He approved of the general policy of Ormonde as indispensable for the safety of the Irish Catholics, and condemned the Nuncio who opposed that policy. In these opinions he agreed with David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, who, it is commonly believed, drew up the plan of the supreme Council of the Confederates.

On the surrender of Galway in 1642, Dr. Lynch fled to France, and continued in exile till his death, which must have occurred prior to 1674. He outlived nearly all his distinguished literary contemporaries, who have had, in their own order, no successors. Like the unfinished cathedrals of the ages to which they devoted their labours, their works remain the admiration and the reproach of posterity.

His translation of Keating's History of Ireland into elegant Latin is supposed to have been his first production, and to have been composed before he left Ireland. The preface, to which we have already referred, presents that easy flow which characterises his subsequent writings.

His great work "Cambresis Eversus," was published in 1662 at St. Malo in France, under the pseudonome of "Gratianus Lucius." The motives that led to the composition of this controversial disquisition are stated in his first chapter. It appears that from the time when the writer, best known by the name of "Giraldus Cambrensis," wrote shortly before 1190 his "Topography," and "History of the Conquest" of Ireland, a strong feeling was entertained by many of the natives of that country that many of the statements in these two works were unjust and injurious to the character of this people, but being in manuscript they remained in comparative obscurity. After their issue by Camden from the printing-press of Frankfort in 1602, this was no longer the case, and it was believed that the antipathy between England and Ireland, which began about the time of the wars of Elizabeth, was exaggerated by the adoption in the literature of the former of many of the objectionable statements contained in these two

works. It appears to have occurred to the Roman Catholic prelates to procure to be produced at the public expense a defence of the history of Ireland. Some work of this nature appears to have been written by one Stephen White, a learned Jesuit, of which it was believed all trace was lost, although a copy has recently (about 1831) been discovered in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels, and allusion is made in a poem to a similar work by one Philip O'Sullivan. The resolution of the prelates does not seem to have been carried into effect, and Dr. Lynch appears to have alone, unaided, and in exile, taken it upon him to execute the task. Throughout the whole work, he proves himself to be superior to the animosities and prejudices which had so long divided the two branches into which the people of Ireland had resolved themselves, viz., the Scotch or Ulster nation of the north, and the Anglo-Norman of the south and west; the latter having under their wing the Firbolg or more ancient native races, with which, in a great many instances, they had joined by intermarriages. But while he was putting his hand to the last chapter of his work, and perhaps congratulating himself on having proved by an imposing array of precedents that the Anglo-Irish were really become Irish and entitled to be called such, a work was presented to the Propaganda in 1659, written by one of the Ulster or Scoto-Irish, impeaching the whole Anglo-Irish family, a kind of supplement to a work of a similar nature called the "Remonstrance," written by Domhnall O'Neill in the fourteenth century, but urging considerations far more momentous. There could be no peace, it declared, until the Anglo-Irish family had been corrected or expelled.

Upon this Dr. Lynch stood forth as the apologist of his race. In an exceedingly rare and valuable book, entitled "Alithonologia," he reviews Anglo-Irish history, indignantly rejects the name of *Anglo-Irishman*, extols the superiority of his race, their greater wealth, power, and civilization, their stately cities and fertile lowlands, their fidelity to their faith, which so many of them had defended by their writings, or sealed by their blood, and, what accords badly with modern theories, their numerical superiority. As a history of the Anglo-Irish race, especially of their anomalous position under Elizabeth, the "Alithonologia" has no rival. His loyalty, of course, is of the true Anglo-Irish type, but never descends to that erastian compliance which would secularise the Church without serving the country. In point of style, this work combines with the good qualities of his "Cambresis Eversus," the vigour and fire of animated controversy; while in moderation it presents a favourable contrast with most of the politico-religious literature of that age on both sides of the St. George's channel. In 1667 Dr. Lynch published a supplement to his "Alithonologia." By this time the contest had lost much of its interest. His antagonist had been ordered to quit Rome. His work had been disowned by the superior of the religious order to which he had associated himself in Italy. But in this addendum, Dr. Lynch gives full scope to his discursive humour, ranging over every period of Irish history, and indulging in his usual exuberance of classical allusion. It presents, however, a significant, and indeed unpardonable, trait of partizanship, in that while he condemns, and justly, the many fabulous and sometimes true atrocities of the Scoto-Irish, he altogether forgets the provocations, spoliations, and

cruelties which had goaded that noble race to desperate measures. The chief accusation of his adversary against the chiefs of Anglo-Norman descent was that they concurred in the Parliament of 1613 along with the newer English colonists in confiscating the nine counties of Ulster, but so far from denying this, Dr. Lynch hails it as the completion of the conquest commenced four hundred years before. Only it was not so much a conquest as the final reduction of the power of a still earlier race of conquerors.

But to do Dr. Lynch justice, he was proud of these earlier invaders the Scoto-Irish. In the year 1664 he addressed a brief and learned letter to Boileau, historian of the University of Paris, who, by an error not uncommon at the time, had confounded the Scoti and Scotia of the ancients with modern Scotland; pointing out his mistake and claiming for Ireland the fame of the scholars of that race and name who first taught in the University of Paris and Court of Charlemagne.

In 1667 he wrote a pathetic poem in answer to the question, Why do you not come home to Ireland? peculiarly interesting as showing forth the feelings of an exile, and as the only work in which we see himself. Although addressed to a friend, and without any view of future publication, he notices in the exordium the chronologies of his anonymous works as well as their titles, and thereby enables us to trace and to identify them. It is an apology of a noble-hearted priest for not in his old age encountering the perils of the Irish mission, after having laboured there during thirty years of his prime, and solicitous to avail himself of the leisure given to him in a foreign land by devoting the remainder of his days to the literature of his country. He considers also his life to be in danger from the anger of some person—supposed to be the Governor of Galway, whose father was Sir Charles Coote—to whom his writings had given offence; for Dr. Lynch had denounced in no measured terms the sanguinary deeds of Sir Charles and his accomplices.

In 1669 he published, and, like all his other works, in Latin, the life of his uncle Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala. In his other works we see the scholar, patriot, and historian; in this we have a zealous Irish priest, sketching, but not with too partial a hand, his own ideas of ecclesiastical virtue, exhibited in the life of a beloved relative, under whose care he had been educated, and who, in every phase of his eventful life, in persecution as in prosperity, as a bishop and as a priest, had laboured to prove himself worthy of his vocation.

His great work "*Cambresis Eversus*," composed when he was nearly sixty years of age, was republished, with an English translation and notes, by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1848 for the Irish Celtic Society. In his preface the translator justly states that it has been generally considered one of the most valuable works on the history of Ireland; that, viewed merely as a refutation of Giraldus de Barry, it is on some points unsuccessful; but that its comprehensive plan, embracing a great variety of undigested and accurate information on every period of Irish history, imparts to it a value entirely independent of the controversial character inscribed on its title-page. This Introduction embraces a short account of the life of the author, to which we are indebted for the facts in the present notice.

From the manner in which Dr. Lynch's name is introduced into the inquisition held in Galway, he appears to have been dead in 1674. In

his poem written seven years before, he declares that, as he was tottering on the brink of the grave, it would not be worth his trouble to go so far as Ireland for a little clay to cover him. From the following epitaph, composed by his friend and fellow-labourer, Dr. Flaherty, it would appear that he died, where his works were published, at St. Maloes.

“ OCCIDIT ARMORICIS PIUS HEU ! LYNCHÆUS IN ORIS,
LYNCHÆUS PATRIÆ LUX, COLUMENQUE SUE.

ASSERUIT FAMAM, COMMENTA REFELLIT IERNÆ ;

ERUIT É TENEBRIS GESTA VETUSTA STYLO.

GALLIA HABET TUMULUM, CUNABULA GALVIA JACTAT ;

SCRIPTA VIGENT TERRIS, SPIRITUS ARCE POLI.”

III. LITERARY SERIES.

MICHAEL CLEARY.

BORN A.D. ———. — DIED A.D. 1643.

OF MICHAEL CLEARY very little is satisfactorily known, and we should, for this reason, consider ourselves absolved from any notice of him, but for the place which he occupies in the history of our Irish literature. This topic, so far as relates to the commencement of the present division of these memoirs, must be regarded as rather belonging to the antiquarian than to the historical biographer. But it is necessary, as briefly as we may, to account for our neglect of the very numerous poets who lived in the earlier half of the 17th century, and whose writings are yet extant. For this there are sufficient reasons: there are no materials for their personal histories, and their writings are not extant in any published form. The great celebrity of a renowned author of unpublished poetry might impose it upon us to give some account of his works; but great indeed must be the importance of the writings to which such a tribute would be excusable here, and whatever may be the collective worth of the bards and historians of the period included in these remarks, there are, individually, few instances which demand the distinction of a memoir. We might, by the help of some very accessible authorities, easily continue in this period the barren list of unknown poets, which helped to fill the vacancy of our previous period; but, on looking very carefully over those materials, we are unable to perceive what purpose would be served by such a waste of our space, already contracting too fast for the important matter yet before us.*

In that portion of the introductory observations allotted to the gene-

* We should here apprise the reader that the seeming disproportion, between the space which we have given to the ecclesiastics and the literary persons belonging to this period, is to be explained by the fact, that the most respectable of our writers hold also a prominent rank among our ecclesiastical dignitaries of the same period.

ral consideration of Irish literature, we have endeavoured to give some general notices of the character and importance of this unknown but numerous class of writings, which lie concealed, though not inaccessible, in the archives of colleges, and in public and private libraries. The individual whose name affords us occasion for these remarks, was a native of Ulster, and a Franciscan friar. He was early in life known as learned in the antiquities of his country, and as having a critical acquaintance with the Irish tongue. These qualifications recommended him to Mr Hugh Ward as a fit person to collect information for his projected history of the Irish saints, for which purpose he was sent to the Irish college in Louvain. The materials which he collected in the course of fifteen years passed into the hands of Colgan, by the death of Ward.

Cleary at the same time collected materials, which he reduced into three volumes of Irish history, of which the letters are mentioned by Ware.

He was one of the compilers of the "Annals of Donegal"—a MS. of the greatest authority in the antiquities of Ireland. His last work was a Dictionary of the obsolete words in the Irish Language, published in 1643, the year of his death.

JOHN COLGAN.

BORN A.D. ———.—DIED A.D. 1658.

COLGAN was a Franciscan in the Irish convent of St Anthony of Padua, in Louvain, where he was professor of divinity. He collected and compiled a well-known work of great authority among antiquarians, and of considerable use in some of the earlier memoirs of this work.

His writings were numerous; and all, we believe, on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. His death, in 1658, prevented the publication of many of them.

GEOFFREY KEATING

BORN A.D. ———.—DIED A.D. 1650.

KEATING, well known as the writer of an antiquarian history of Ireland—of great authority for the general fulness with which it preserves the traditionary accounts of the earliest times, though liable to some rather hasty censures for the indiscriminate combination of the probable and improbable into one digested narrative, and in the language of implicit belief. Such a work is, nevertheless, the most certain and authentic record of the ancient belief of the learned and unlearned of the land; and if the facts be not true in themselves, they evidently characterize the mind of a period, while, generally speaking, there is every reason to give credit to the more important parts of the narrative; and, above all, to the genealogical traditions of the ancient families of chiefs and kings. It is by no means a just inference that

they who entertain superstitious notions, and believe the absurdest mythological fables and traditions, are, therefore, to be discredited in their statements of the ordinary facts of history; in the former, both the senses which observe, and the faithfulness which records, are wholly uninvolved—the facts belong to a different class of things, and a man may believe a fable, yet speak truth in the concerns of life. When a historian's authority, or the authorities on which he writes, are to be questioned, the question must be,—is the relation honest, and are the facts such as to admit of natural error? Now, in Keating's history, the line of demarcation between truth and error will, in the main, be easily seen. It will be at once observed, that the mere fact of the existence of a large body of ancient literature, with all the extant remains and traditions of Ireland, undeniably prove the existence of some old state of civil order different from anything now existing, and as far removed from the savage state. Such a state of things must needs have left some record stamped with the form, and having at least all the main outlines of the truth; and it may be asked where this record—of which the absence would be more improbable than any part of Irish history—can be found, if not in those very traditions which are the genuine remains of Irish literature, and the authorities of old Keating. The facts are, it is true, often strangely involved with fable; but there is no instance in which the discrimination of an unbiassed intellect cannot at once make the due allowance.

Keating studied for twenty-three years in the college of Salamanca. On his return to Ireland he was appointed to the parish of Tybrid, which he soon resigned. He is said to have been driven into concealment by the hostility of a person whose mistress he excommunicated. This person having threatened to murder him, he took refuge in a wood between the Galty mountains and the town of Tipperary; and in this retirement he wrote his history in the Irish language.

He was buried in the church of Tybrid, founded by himself and his successor, in 1644.

His history was translated into English by a Mr Dermot O'Connor, whose version is considered to have many inaccuracies. Another translation was since commenced by a Mr William Halliday, an Irish scholar of great reputation. His task was cut short by an early death. He had proceeded so far as the Christian era, and published a thin octavo, which has induced much regret among antiquarians that he did not live to complete his undertaking.

Keating's other writings are of slight importance—they are a few poems and professional treatises.

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

BORN A.D. 1626.—DIED A.D. 1691.

THE account of the early infancy of this most illustrious Irishman has been written by himself under the title of *Philalethes*. This period of his life was subject to more casualties and changes than are often known to occur in the maturer age of the generality of men; and this,

indeed, in a manner and to an extent, which the character of our more civilized times can scarcely be conceived to admit of. At the age of three his mother died, and his intellect and moral temper were, at that early age, sufficiently mature to comprehend and feel this irreparable deprivation. The well-known activity of his ambitious father, the first earl of Cork—a man ever on the stretch in the pursuit of fortune and power—left his home often without a master, and his children without a parent. To these sources of casualty may be added the frequent necessity of removal and travelling through a wild and unsettled country, and under the charge of menials. On the road, the robber lurked among the rugged mountain-passes, and in the concealment of the bordering woods; on the British channel the pirate roamed without restraint; and the Turkish galley infested and defied the very coasts, which have now so long been sacred from such insults and dangers.

At three years of age he had a narrow escape from being drowned, by the fall of the horse on which he was carried, in crossing a deep and rapid brook which was swollen by the rains. At seven, he tells us that he had a still more remarkable escape from being crushed to death by the fall of the ceiling of the chamber in which he slept.

At three years of age he was sent to Eton, of which the provost was then Sir Henry Wotton, an intimate friend of his father's. Here he was placed under the immediate tuition of Mr Harrison, who, it is said, had the sagacity to discover the unusual capacity and the singular moral tendencies of his pupil, even at that early age, as well as the skill to adapt his moral and intellectual treatment to so promising a subject. Perceiving the indications of a mind unusually apprehensive and curious, he was careful that these happy inclinations should not want for exercise; and, as he had a willing mind to deal with, he avoided damping, in any degree, the voluntary spirit, by even the semblance of a constraint, which, in common cases, is of such primary necessity. By this method, so applicable in this peculiar instance, the ardour for information, which seems to have been so providentially implanted in the youthful philosopher's mind, became so intensely kindled, that it became necessary to employ some control, for the purpose of forcing him to those intermissions of rest and needful exercise for which boys are commonly so eager. Harrison meanwhile watched over the extraordinary youth with a zealous, intelligent, and assiduous care, ever ready to answer his questions, and to communicate knowledge in the form of entertaining discourse.

The main object of his studies at Eton was the acquisition of classical knowledge, and he soon attained a considerable intimacy with the best writers of antiquity. He himself has mentioned, that the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius had the effect of awakening his imagination, in an extraordinary degree, and thus excited in his mind an increased thirst for historical knowledge.*

* It is curious to compare the impressions communicated by the same circumstance to different minds. We extract the following from a well-known periodical:—"The effect which the same romantic historian is said to have produced on Charles XII., is, however, more direct and natural. In reading of the feats of

We must confess to some difficulty in distinctly appreciating such an impulse from such a cause, further than as the transient impression of an hour, which the next would dispel. The excitements of Quintus Curtius are scarcely to be expected in the page of regular history. A more natural impulse is attributed to the accident of his being initiated in the range of romantic fiction, which was, we are bound to say, a most grievous error, which cannot be too strenuously deprecated in these pages, and which we shall therefore pause to discuss more fully. The circumstances are these:—During his stay at Eton he was attacked by a fit of the tertian ague, of such severity and duration, that his constitution, naturally delicate, became very much debilitated, and a long time elapsed before he recovered his strength sufficiently for the purpose of his studies. In this condition it occurred to his tutor—who, after all, was more of the scholar than the philosopher—to indulge his craving and restless mind by the perusal of novels and romances. Some reflections in a contemporary memoir, on the same incident, convey our sentiments with so much truth that we shall here extract them,—“As might be presumed, the effect was to leave on his mind a distaste for less stimulative aliment, and to excite his mind to a state of undue activity. The sense of martial ardour,—the pride and stimulus of military emulation, ambition, and danger,—the physical sympathies of action, with all the vain glories of romance, were acted on and called forth. He became a castle-builder and a dreamer. He makes a remark on this subject, of which we have long since had occasion to learn the value—that it is unfortunate for those who have busy thoughts to be without timely employment for their activity. Such, indeed, is the misfortune which—worse than even the corruptions of passion—has consigned many a high and far-grasping intellect to a life of dreams. Gambling, and debauchery, and the seductions of sense, are not more sure in their fatal effects, so uninterruptible in their course, or so seductive, as this refined and intellectual fascination,—more sure and dangerous, because it operates in loneliness, and finds its good within itself. When the imagination is once fairly seized with this self-seeking desire, even the slightest thing that occurs, or that is seen, read, or heard of, is enough to give it impulse and direction, and the heart acts the hero or voluptuary's part; the Augustus, or Nero, or Heliogabalus; the Paris, or Achilles; and, in its own secluded recess, rules or disposes of more worlds than Alexander could have conquered. There is an interest in finding our infirmities reflected in a mind like Boyle's; but it is both instructive and encouraging to learn, by what timely resolution and prudence, in the

Alexander he was affected by a sympathy of a kindred mind, and became a warrior. Quintus Curtius wrote for a corrupt and luxurious age, when the nobles of the latter periods of the Roman empire were excluded from politics and war, and only alive to the stimulants of sense and taste. His invention and eloquence were of a high order, and he wrote for effect—his success was worthy of a better object. His descriptions and pictorial touches,—his dialogues and characteristic sayings and incidents,—and even his description of the private reflections of the persons of the narrative, while they materially diminish his credit as a historian, must still have produced on his ancient readers an effect, not greatly inferior to that produced on the readers of *Ivanhoe*.”—*Dublin University Magazine*, May, 1836.

application of means, he shook off this disease of the spirit. To recover his power of application he had recourse to the study of mathematics, and found in its precise relations and rigid conclusions that interest and necessity of *attention*, which was the remedy his case required.* There is indeed prevalent, in our own times, an error well worthy of the most serious consideration upon the subject of a very large class of works of fiction—we mean that most pernicious of all literary compositions, of which it is the real aim to tamper with passion and sentiment, and the pretence—no doubt sincere—to inculcate some good lesson in morality and prudence. Such lessons are not only useful, but necessary to young and old; but it is known that their operation is slow, and the result of much and repeated trial and experience: it is also known that the truths of experience are long known to the understanding before they have any very practical influence on the heart; while, on the contrary, passion and sentiment, the main impulses of conduct, operate with a spontaneous force in the fullest maturity of that head wisdom which is expected to constrain them. Reason may be called the helm, and experience the chart of prudence and principle; but passion and sentiment have pretty much the same relation to the tempest, the current, and the shoal, and it seems a curious inconsistency of purpose which would make the latter instrumental to the uses of the former. A lesson, for example, of the delicate embarrassments, cross-purposes, and misunderstandings of the tender passions, may be made the vehicle for noble sentiments and virtuous conduct; but the young and tender bosom which has thus been betrayed into those fearful and seductive sympathies, will be infected by their clinging influence, when the noblest maxims of virtue and its loftiest examples are forgotten. In vain the charms are spread which are to sweeten the lesson of virtue, if they have a far nearer connexion with infirmities, follies, and vices. The Minerva, with the naked bosom, may preach in vain on the charms of abstinence and heroic self-denial; human nature will seize the thoughts, and be attracted by the sense for which its affinity is nearest. Heroism, set off by beauty, and softened by the glow of the passions, will, for a moment, appear doubly heroic; but the enthusiasm of taste will subside, and the pupil or spectator will find some more interesting and congenial way of applying the lesson. As we do not here think it necessary to repeat the commonly urged objection to works of fiction—that they offer false views of society—we will say that it is not, certainly, from any want of concurrence in them; and we may observe, by the way, that it is the high praise of the Waverley novels that they avoid all these objections, neither giving false views, nor deriving interest from deleterious materials.

As to the effect of such influences upon the mind of Boyle, it must have been materially diminished by the great counteraction, if not entire preponderance of dispositions of an opposite tendency, which will show themselves plainly enough as we proceed. Without entering into any refinement upon intellectual powers and tendencies, the character of Robert Boyle was eminently practical, and his temper

* Dublin University Magazine, May, 1836.

conscientious in an unusual degree. The general tenor of his early life was in itself adapted to favour, and, in some measure, produce these dispositions: the unsettled character of the times in which he lived; the rude emergencies of even a change of place, attendant on such times; and the universal agitation and tempest of the period in which he came to man's estate, were, in no small degree, calculated to turn the attention of thoughtful spirits on the external scene, and to give development to the turn for observation and practical application. It is perhaps not improbable, that such was the general effect of the civil wars of that period upon the times and the public mind,—the fine-spun cobwebs of philosophy, and the gorgeous cloudwork of poetry, are probably deprived of their influence upon the mass of minds when so kept painfully on the stretch by startling realities. But with such considerations we are evidently unconcerned.

After having continued four years at Eton, Boyle was recalled by his father, who had at this time come to live at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire. He, nevertheless, sedulously applied himself to the acquisition of classical knowledge, and also of ancient history. His father engaged a Mr Marcombes, a foreigner, to assist his studies. This gentleman had been first employed as travelling tutor to his brothers, the lords Broghill and Kinalmeaky.

In 1638, when he had attained his eleventh year, he was sent on his travels, under the charge of the same gentleman. His destination was Geneva, where he was to continue his studies,—a plan most probably originating with Marcombes, who was a native of the town, and, having a family resident in it, was evidently very much convenience by the arrangement. They took their route by London, where his brother, who was also to be the companion of his foreign sojourn, was to be married to Mrs Anne Killigrew, a maid of honour to the queen. From London they found their way to Paris, and from thence to Lyons, and on through Savoy to Geneva.

Boyle, in his autobiographical memoir, attributes much of the moral improvement of his mind to the care, and to the influence of some strong points in the character of Mr Marcombes, and we are strongly inclined to join in the opinion. He mentions his tutor as one who was an acute observer of the ways of men, who formed his opinions from life, not from books, and had not merely a contempt, but an aversion for pedantry, which he hated "as much as any of the seven deadly sins." It is also very evident that Mr Marcombes was by no mean an indulgent observer, but nice, critical, choleric; and to the quickness of his temper Mr Boyle ascribes the fortunate subjugation of his own. If, indeed, Mr Boyle's temper was as irritable as he himself represents it to have been, this is a fact not unimportant to the instructors of youth; for he is one of the most perfect models which biography affords, of patience and mildness. In this, however, other and far superior influences must claim a larger share, as Mr Boyle was pre-eminently a christian. To religion, we are inclined to think, there was in his mind a very peculiar tendency. Such tendencies, we are aware, do not, as a matter of course, lead to the actual adoption of any religion, still less of the christian religion. When the great truths of christianity are not instilled into the heart with

the first rudiments of education, they can only be afterwards received on evidence which claims the assent of the understanding, and this must be sought and studied with much careful attention. In Boyle's time, this evidence was easily overlooked for many reasons; and it is always listened to with strong reluctance,—the severe, simple, and practical requisitions of christian teaching being strongly opposed to the whole bent of human nature, and the entire spirit of social life. Butler, and Paley, and other eminent men, afterwards called up to crush the hydra of infidelity, had not yet placed the question within the easy reach of the public mind. Notwithstanding the able writings of Grotius, and those of the more ancient apologists, unhappily, during the middle ages, christianity had been displaced from its basis of evidence, and placed upon a foundation of quicksand, so as to present neither its genuine form nor its real credentials.

From these considerations, we lean to suspect that religious truths had no very strong hold of Mr Boyle's mind, at the period of which we speak. The incidents which had a decided effect to unsettle his belief, are such as to illustrate some of the foregoing remarks very strongly, while, at the same time, they indicate a very singular impressibility.* He himself mentions the solemn impression upon his mind of a tremendous thunderstorm in the dead of the night; it led him to reflect earnestly upon his state of mind, and to recollect his great deficiencies according to the standard by which he professed to walk. Some time after this, however, an impression of a very different nature was made upon him, in one of those excursions which he was accustomed to make from Geneva into the mountains that lay around. Visiting the ancient monastery of Chartreuse, in a wild alpine recess near Grenoble, his feelings were so powerfully wrought upon by the savage and gloomy scenery, the curious pictures, and mysterious traditions of the monastery, that his excited imagination called up and lent a momentary reality to the legendary superstition of the place. The powerful impressions thus made upon a mind, characteristically impressible, were such as to obscure and cast a dimness upon his far less vivid impressions of christianity, of which, it must be observed, he knew not any distinct proofs; and his reason, bewildered between the appeals of a strongly impressed and sensibly imbodied superstition, and of a vague and imperfectly conceived belief, became unsettled upon the momentous truths of religion, which, under the same common name, offered such opposite and irreconcilable demands on faith. The traditions of St Bruno, which were thus brought as a sensible reality to the imagination, stood, as it were, nearer to the eye than the remote and dimly apprehended truths of the gospel; and, while the fancy gave power to the one, reason ceased to discriminate with accuracy, and lost its inadequate hold of the other. The process is by no means one confined to a youthful fancy and a visionary turn, but, with some modification, can be distinctly traced to the pseudo-philosophy of the last century. The shallow but eloquent Vol-

* "Mr Boyle's mind was of that reflective and sensitive cast, on which slight influences had great effects; nor, without the full allowance for this, can the construction of his character be distinctly understood."—*Dublin University Magazine*.

ney has expanded the fallacy into a systematic argument; the imposing sophistry of Gibbon—so far as it can be extracted from the ambiguities of style—indicates a mind labouring under misconceptions of the same order.

With respect to Boyle, his own account of the result substantiates the important fact affirmed in the foregoing remarks. Like Gibbon, Paine, Volney, and other persons, the history of whose scepticism is known, he was ignorant of the actual evidences of the facts and authorities of christianity, and knew it only, as it is most commonly known to the multitude, through its moral and doctrinal rules and principles; and thus, when it became reduced into the mass of clashing creeds and dogmas, its hold upon mere reason was, as a matter of course, obscured. But it is to the praise of Mr Boyle, that with him to doubt was to inquire, and to inquire was to cast away the prepossessions, and resist the prejudices which obscure the shallow depths of human speculation. He was determined to "be seriously inquisitive of the very fundamentals of christianity, and to hear what both Jews and Greeks, and the chief sects of Christians, could allege for their opinions; that so, though he believed more than he could comprehend, he might not believe more than he could prove." The intellectual soundness thus perceptible in a youth of fourteen is very remarkable; and the more so, because it shows a just discernment of the fallacy upon which so many clever, and sometimes profound reasoners, have been wrecked in all times. Some refuse to assent to that which cannot be explained, while others invent systems for the mere explanation of the same difficulties: both confounding explanation with proof, and overlooking the most elementary conditions of reason and the limits of human knowledge. Boyle proceeded with the characteristic sincerity of his temper to fulfil his wise resolution. A mind, so happily constituted for research, could not fail to receive ready satisfaction as to the evidences which offer the clearest and best examples of every proof within the compass of human knowledge. He is known as an eminent christian; and this part of his history may be said to have its illustrious monument in the foundation of a lecture for the defence of the Christian religion, which has been occupied by some of the most eminent names in christian theology.

In September, 1641, he left Geneva, and visited many of the principal towns in Italy. He made a more prolonged stay at Venice, then in its full splendour, a great centre of trade, and a concourse of nations, tongues, and manners. It was the age when the last and consummate finish of a polite education was sought in foreign travel,—foreign travelling, still an important advantage to the scholar, was then an indispensable requisite to the polite or learned. It supplied the deficiency of books by the actual observation of things—it opened the mind by extending the sphere of its intercourse; and, while it enlarged the conversation, it softened prejudices, and gave ease, affability, and freedom to the manners and address.

In Florence he passed the winter of the same year, and, during his stay, acquired the Italian language. Here also he became acquainted with the "new paradoxes" of Galileo, an acquisition, which, to the genius of Boyle, may well be supposed to have been important.

From Florence he went on to Rome, and was enabled to exercise his observing and inquiring spirit without interruption, by taking upon him the character of a Frenchman. He had, while in Geneva, acquired the most perfect ease and correctness in that language, and, in Rome, the acquisition became important. It was his aim to escape the penetrating espionage of the English jesuits, whose duty it would have been to denounce the prohibited presence of an English protestant. Mr Boyle attributed this prohibition to the reluctance which was felt by the Papal court and the ecclesiastical authorities to allow strangers, and particularly protestant strangers, to perceive the very low state of religion then prevalent, and the little reverence paid to the Pope in his own city. There was, indeed, enough to fix his attention upon the darkness and intellectual prostration of the place and time. He never, he declares, saw so small a respect for the Pope as in Rome, or met with infidelity so open and unshrinking as in Italy.

From Rome he returned to Florence, and from thence to Pisa, Leghorn, and by sea to Genoa. He then returned to France. On his journey he was exposed to no small danger in the streets of a frontier town, for refusing to take off his hat to a crucifix. At Marseilles he met with gloomy tidings, accompanied by a severe and unexpected disappointment. Having expected remittances, he only received letters from his father, giving deplorable accounts of the rebellion, and informing him that he had only had it in his power to raise £250, to bear their expenses home. This remittance miscarried, it is believed from the dishonesty of the banker in Paris to whom it was committed. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Mr Marcombes brought them back to Geneva, where they were compelled to remain for two years, in the vain expectation of supplies, and at last found it necessary to have recourse to an expedient, to enable them to find their way home. Mr Marcombes obtained a sufficient amount of jewellery on his own credit, and this enabled them to travel on to England, where they arrived in 1644.

In the mean time the earl of Cork had died. He left, by will, the manor of Stalbridge, and some other property in Ireland, to Robert Boyle. But though thus well provided for in the way of fortune, the unsettled condition of the country rendered it difficult for him to obtain money, so that he found it expedient to reside for several months with his sister, lady Ranelagh. This arrangement was fortunate, as it was the means of diverting him from a purpose which he had recently formed of entering the army.

As his brother, lord Broghill, had considerable interest, he obtained through his means a protection for his estates in England and Ireland, and was also permitted to return to France for the purpose of settling the debts which he had been forced to contract.

He soon returned and retired to his manor of Stalbridge, where he spent four years in the most intense pursuit of knowledge, occasionally, however, relaxing his mind, or diversifying his studies, by excursions to London and Oxford. During this interval he applied himself for a time to ethical investigations, upon which subject he composed a treatise. His favourite pursuit, however, was natural philosophy, in different departments of which he soon obtained as much knowledge

as the state of science at that period afforded. He mentions of himself, that, at this period of his life, his industry was so unremitting, that he continued to mix study with every pursuit, so as not to lose a moment which could be profitably applied. "If they were walking down a hill, or on a rough road, he would still be studying till supper, and frequently proposed such difficulties as he had met with to his governor."

Among the resources of learned men in that period for the attainment and interchange of knowledge, none was more cultivated or more effective for its end than epistolary correspondence; by means of which, the concert and stimulus which soon after began to be propagated by learned societies, was kept up by individual communications. For those, who like Boyle devoted themselves to knowledge, such a resource was then of primary consideration, and, to a great extent, also supplied the place of books: the lights of science were uncertain and rare, and the ardent student of nature was on the watch for every gleam. Boyle was not remiss in seeking the enlightening intercourse of those who were the most eminent for worth and learning.

In 1645, during the civil wars, a small company of persons of talent and learning were in the habit of meeting in London first, and afterwards, when London became too troubled for peaceful studies, in Oxford. The object of their meetings was to hold conversations and make communications in natural philosophy. This was the first beginning of that most illustrious institution the Royal Society, and consisted of many of those who were its most eminent members—Wallis, Wren, Ward, Wilkins, &c.,—men, among whom, at Mr Boyle's time of life, it was, in the highest degree, an honour to be included. They were the followers of Bacon, and the immediate precursors of Newton. The light of human reason had been long struggling, vainly, to break forth from the overpowering control of the spiritual despotism of the middle ages; and in Italy, a succession of minds of the first order, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, with his contemporaries, had arisen, in vain, above the dim twilight of school and cloister—though not permitted to be the lights of science, yet condemned to leave indelible illustrations of the power of superstition and slavery, and of the importance of freedom of thought to the advancement of mankind. This vital element had found its place in England: the reformation of religion was also the rectification of reason, and the spirit of the venerable fathers of modern science was now to shine out in the daylight of freedom, unfettered by any impositions save those limits assigned by him from whom reason is the gift to man. The eminent men whom we have mentioned had agreed upon weekly meetings at each other's lodgings; they also sometimes met in Gresham College. Their meetings were interrupted after the death of Charles, when London, for a time, became the seat of crime and anarchy, and especially unsafe for those who did not wish to go the fullest lengths of compliance with the spirit of the hour. The principal portion of the members retired to Oxford. The result of the connexions thus formed was a more determinate direction to the philosophical taste, and, perhaps, an increased impulse to the extraordinary assiduity with which Mr Boyle devoted

himself to investigations which have conferred upon his name a distinguished place in the history of natural philosophy.

The close and sedentary habits, consequent on such assiduous study were not without their debilitating effects upon Boyle's corporeal frame. Before he was yet of age he became subject to repeated attacks of that most afflicting disease, the stone.

In 1652, he came over to settle his affairs in Ireland, and remained for a considerable time, but complained very much of the great obstacles which baffled his efforts to make a progress in his favourite investigations in chemical science. Still his unrelaxing ardour found a congenial pursuit in anatomy, and he entered on a course of dissection, under the guidance of Dr William Petty, physician to the army. Of this, he says, "I satisfied myself of the circulation of the blood, and have seen more of the variety and contrivances of Nature, and the majesty and wisdom of her Author, than all the books I ever read in my life could give me convincing notions of."

In 1654, he executed an intention, which he had long meditated, of retiring to Oxford, where his chief associates in study still met; and where he could with more ease pursue his favourite inquiries in science. It was their custom to meet at each other's apartments or dwellings, in turn, to discuss the questions of principal interest at the time, mutually communicating to each other the result of their several labours. They called themselves the Philosophical College, and perhaps were not without some sense of the important results to which their studies were afterwards to lead. They principally applied themselves to mathematical, and, still more, to experimental inquiries in natural philosophy. Among this distinguished body, the nucleus of modern philosophy, Boyle was not the least active or efficient. Of his labours, we shall presently speak more in detail. He seems to have been early impressed by the discoveries and the opinions declared by the Florentine philosophers, and directed his investigations with a view to confirm and follow out their discoveries: the result was a very considerable improvement upon the air-pump, a machine invented very recently by Otto of Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg. Endowed with faculties, in the very highest degree adapted to the purposes of experimental science, he pursued, confirmed, and extended the science of pneumatics, of which the foundations had been laid by Torricelli, Pascal, and Huygens.

During the same interval, while engaged with ardour essential to genius and natural to youth, in these captivating and absorbing pursuits, Boyle's just, comprehensive, and conscientious spirit was not turned aside from the still higher path which he had chosen for his walk through life. The same inquiring, docile, and cautious habits of mind, improved by the investigations of natural philosophy, were directed to the investigation of the sacred records. He made great progress in the acquisition of the Oriental tongues, and in the critical study of the Scriptures in their original languages. He composed an "Essay on the Scriptures," in which this proficiency is honourably illustrated. The exemplary zeal with which, amidst the multiplicity of his pursuits, and the distraction of severe disease, he gave his mind

to a pursuit, so apt to be overlooked by men intensely engaged in temporal pursuits, is very strongly expressed by himself. "For my part, reflecting often on David's generosity, who would not offer as a sacrifice to the Lord that which cost him nothing, I esteem no labour lavished that illustrates or endears to me that divine book, and think it no treacherous sign that God loves a man, when he inclines his heart to love the scriptures, where the truths are so precious and important that the purchase must at least deserve the price. And I confess myself to be none of those lazy persons who seem to expect to obtain from God a knowledge of the wonders of his book, upon as easy terms as Adam did a wife, by sleeping soundly." Of this spiritual frame of mind we shall find numerous and increasing proofs. During his residence at Oxford he was not less solicitous in his cultivation of, and intercourse with, the best preachers and ablest divines, than with those eminent philosophers who had associated themselves with him, and whose meetings were often held in his apartments. Pococke, Hyde, Clarke, and Barlow, were among his intimates and advisers in those studies, of which they were the lights and ornaments in their day. In common with the ablest and soundest of his literary associates, he warmly opposed the absurd scholastic method of philosophizing, which was the remains of the scholastic period, but was maintained under the abused name and sanction of Aristotle.

The reputation of his learning and sanctity was perhaps extended by his character as a philosopher, as well as by his illustrious birth. The lord chancellor Clarendon was among those who importuned him to enter upon holy orders; but Boyle, with the just and philosophical discernment, as well as the disinterestedness of his character, refused, upon the consideration that his writings in support of divine truth would come with more unmixed authority from one connected by no personal interest with its maintenance. So high at the same time was his reputation as a philosopher, that the grand duke of Tuscany requested of Mr Southwell, the English resident at his court, to convey to Mr Boyle his desire to be numbered among his correspondents.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in Ireland was obtained in his name, but without any previous communication with him. This he applied to the purposes of maintaining and extending the benefits of Christianity, by supporting active and efficient clergymen. In the same year he was appointed president of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in New England: a society which was, we believe, the origin of those societies for the same end, of which the results have been so diffusively connected with the more permanent and higher interests of the human race.

The philosophical works and investigations of Boyle, in the meanwhile, followed thick upon each other. The splendid progress of the physical sciences since his time have been, in every branch, such as to cast an undeserved oblivion over the able and intelligent inquirers who began the march of science in England. Though they were far in advance of their day, yet after all, their happiest advances were but ignorant conjectures, compared with the discoveries which may be said to have followed in their track. The fame of Hooke is lost in

the discoveries of Newton.* Boyle is said to have suggested to this great man the first ideas of his theory of light, in an Essay containing "Considerations and Experiments concerning Colours." This was published in 1663, when Newton was in his twentieth year, and three years before he commenced those experiments to which the theory of colours is due. But Boyle's researches, directed by a true theory of the principles of inquiry, were full of true and just suggestions, of which, nevertheless, it is not a fair way of thinking, to attribute to them the discoveries of any subsequent inquirer. The same suggestions are, to a marvellous extent, presented to various minds with a coincidence which may be called simultaneous: they are, in truth, the product of the age, and of the reality of things. One true notion received will be similarly applied by nearly all minds of a certain order; and as principles of investigation and facts become matured and accumulated, it is rather the wonder how so many can differ than that so many should agree.

Mr Boyle was, at this period of life, exposed to the ridicule of persons of profligate or worldly temper, by the publication of some moral essay, under the title of "Occasional Reflections on different Subjects," which had been written in his younger days, and which, as might be expected from one of Mr Boyle's simplicity of mind, went to the fullest lengths† in the truths of moral and spiritual reflection. That the soundest reason should on these, as on all other subjects of thought, keep nearest to truth, would seem to be a natural consequence. But the mind of society is, to a large extent, enlisted in behalf of the follies and corrupt conventions by which the spirit of the world is kept in conceit with itself; and one of the consequences is the tacit proscription of numerous plain truths, which no one denies, and few like to have forced upon their attention. The formal admission and practical contempt of many truths have thus converted them into solemn trifles, destitute of their proper meaning and afforded to satire the keenest of its shafts, which is directed against everything at which the world desires to laugh, and would gladly look upon as folly. It has, in effect, no very profound air to say gravely what every one knows and no one heeds, and it will become nearly burlesque, if such things are solemnly put forth in the tone and manner of deep reflection—the more so, too, as it is always very common to meet amiable shallow triflers, who deal in commonplaces, because, in fact, they can talk on no other conditions. But it is easy to see how, to a deep

* Newton probably took the thought of gravitation from Hooke. It is an interesting fact that Milton seems to have described the idea of solar attraction in the following lines :—

" What if the sun
Be centre to the world, and other stars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds ?"

† Intense and serious minds seldom understand ridicule, and are, therefore, not unapt to walk unconsciously within its precincts. Ridicule is the great weapon of ignorance, shallowness, and vice; but it is wielded in the hands of wit and malice, and is, therefore, formidable.

thinker, whose mind is uncorrupted by the world, many great first truths, which are lost in the vague forms of proverbial commonplace, should start into an intense reality; and thus language, which has lost its sense to worldly wisdom, acquire a power beyond the conception of keen and shrewd deriders. Of this single-minded, earnest, and conscientious character was Mr Boyle, to whom the very title of the Supreme Being brought a sense of veneration, and a host of solemn and affecting truths, such as seldom in any way, and never very intensely, crossed the minds of those who exercised their wit upon his reflections. The author of *Hudibras* was one of these; he imitated Mr Boyle in "An occasional Reflection on Dr Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulse, at Gresham College." Swift also wrote his "Pious Meditations on a Broomstick," in imitation of the same compositions.

The high reputation, both as a philosopher and a Christian, acquired by Mr Boyle, recommended him to the respect and favour of all that was high and honourable in the land. The provostship of Eton having become vacant, he was nominated by the king to that important station. This he declined, because he wanted no addition either to his rank or fortune. He had decided against taking holy orders, for a reason which we have always considered as having much weight: that the world, and still more the infidel portion of it, is more likely to be influenced by the more apparently disinterested Christianity of a layman, than by the professional zeal and testimony of a churchman. Mr Boyle had also a sense that his devotion to chemistry might be found inconsistent with the active duties of the college, as he would find it his duty to fulfil them.

He was, at the same period of his life, appealed to upon a controversy which then, and often since, has excited the attention of society. This was the question as to the supposed supernatural virtue of healing, which was supposed to reside in the person of a Mr Valentine Greatrakes. Both parties addressed their appeal to Mr Boyle, as the person of the age most fitted to give an authoritative opinion. We should enter here very fully into that curious subject, had we not to give a separate notice on it in the memoir of Mr Greatrakes, where we shall give it exclusive consideration. Suffice it here to say, that a letter was addressed to Mr Boyle, by a Mr Stubbe, in behalf of Greatrakes, and that he replied in another, which, deservedly, obtained great praise.

In 1667, when a severe attack was made upon the Royal Society, Mr Boyle took a prominent part in the defence. It was, in reality, the era of a great revolution in the intellectual world—when the contest between the darkness of the scholastic age and the light of the Newtonian day was at its maximum point of violence. The advocates of a master, who would have scornfully disclaimed them, supplied the want of reason in favour of the Aristotelian philosophy, by charging the new philosophy and its supporters with impiety. The charge was, indeed, unlucky; it appealed to prejudices, and placed truth itself in a false position. The sacred history, written in an early age of the world, and not designed for the chimerical and inconsistent purpose of teaching natural philosophy, used the language of mankind in its allusions to nature—the only medium by which it could continue in-

telligible through so many states of civilization. But as men theorized on nature, and came to various notions on the structure of the mundane system, it is evident that they would compare the language of holy writ with the conclusions of science. Hence difficulties would arise. To deal with these, or to prevent them, the jargon of the schools was a convenient, but most mischievous resource. It was virtually the means of arriving at any desired inference by verbal dexterity. Thus adopting as sacred revelations, the indispensable language of the Bible, it preserved an erroneous system of physics, by excluding the consideration of phenomena. The mistake of the ancient writers on this head was two-fold; for, the scripture was not only understood to declare an accurate system of the world, but its language was so interpreted as to convert the prevalent philosophy of the age into the intent and meaning of the sacred text. Thus, unhappily, arose the self-perpetuation of error: it perverted scripture; and erected the perversion into sacred authority. When the reason of mankind became more free, another evil result arose: the fallacies which were thus wedded to the Bible, by old and venerated error, could not be easily divorced, and became a fertile ground for the sophistry of the deist. And yet, in a philosophic age, it seems strange that sophisms so obvious should have been ventured. It ought, indeed, to be observed that even the latest works on astronomy are liable to the very same misinterpretations; for, from the difficulty and complication of the subject, it is found necessary to adopt a fictitious convention, founded on appearances, as an indispensable necessity of language. And that fiction is *the very same* which the philosophers and divines of ages imagined to be a system maintained on the authority of scripture—which contained no system, and disclosed not one single fact in nature. For the purpose, it should, indeed, have contained some other books, bigger than itself, of pure and unmixed mathematics. Nor would it be very possible to fix a limit where God should cease to reveal, and reason begin its queries, cavils, and senseless mistakes and superstitions. The language of Laplace, of the vulgar of all ages, founded on the common principles of human language, is precisely that which the sacred penmen have used; because there never was, or will be, any other. The secret that the truth of God needs no veil of consecrated error—and that his word stands aloof and undefiled by the rashness of theories, or the fanaticism of schools—was as far from being understood as the Baconian philosophy. As a theory of metaphysics, the inductive method might be suffered to pass among other subtle speculations: speculation had, indeed, so little connexion with practice, that there was nothing very formidable in any effort of this nature—it was simply a great book to swell the mass of academic lucubration. But it was a different thing when a new race of inquirers arose, and, throwing aside the endless and inconclusive resources of division, distinction, syllogism, and definition, stretched beyond, and mistaken in their use, and began to weigh and measure, compare, compound, and analyze, and seek for the constitution of nature by a diligent and searching examination of nature itself. Such a new and daring course would not only assail the learned repose of universities, and deprive grave

doctors of much cheap-won wisdom, but it also gave a violent shock to that factious zeal with which systems are so much upheld. Hence it was that where reason failed, it was an easy, though most unfortunate, resource of controversy, to call in the aid of an appeal such as that we have described, and bring holy writ to the aid of the Aristotelians. The error has been propagated down to our times, checking science, and abusing scripture. The Royal Society was its first object. Mr Boyle was personally treated with the respect of his antagonists—a remarkable testimony to his reputation for piety and worth. A friend of his, who was a leading writer in the controversy, notices him in this honourable manner: that he “alone had done enough to oblige all mankind, and to erect an eternal monument to his memory; so that had he lived in the days when men godded their benefactors, he could not have missed one of the first places among their deified mortals; and that in his writings are to be found the greatest strength and the sweetest modesty, the noblest discoveries and the most generous self-denial, the profoundest insight into philosophy and nature, and the most devout and affectionate sense of God and religion.”

In the following year he changed his residence from Oxford to London, where he took up his quarters with the lady Ranelagh his sister. The change facilitated his communication with the Royal Society, and with learned men. As was usual, he continued to produce and send forth essays on various branches of natural philosophy; chiefly, however, upon subjects connected with the properties of air and water. In 1670, he published a work containing a more detailed account of his philosophical speculations and discoveries. This work obtained very general notice, and we can have no hesitation in saying, that it gave a vast impulse to chemical inquiry.

In 1671, his health, ever very delicate, received a severe shock from a paralytic disease. He, nevertheless, recovered, it is said by the adoption of a strict regimen, with the help of medical treatment.

Among the very numerous tracts which he every year published, there was, in 1674, a paper read in the Royal Society on “quicksilver growing hot with gold,” which drew a letter from Newton to caution him against any premature disclosure on a fact apparently so favourable to Alchymy. Mr Boyle seems not altogether to have abandoned some of these notions more properly appertaining to that visionary science: this was, however, both natural, and even philosophically just, in the commencement of a science of which it was the origin. Alchymy had already produced a rich accumulation of facts, and it was impossible to decide where the true line was to be found between reality and conjecture. Though it is the spirit of inductive science to question nature, by means of experiment and observation, it is plain that there must be some previous process of conjecture to give the direction to inquiry. The true principle of conjecture is, that it should be directed by knowledge; as, out of ascertained facts, various probabilities arise to exercise the invention and sagacity of the inquirer. Laws of nature rise slowly to observation, and with them the law of observation and inference grows both stricter and surer. To venture to assume these limiting rules prematurely, would have been a fatal error; and even still it would be hard to fix the bounds of the unknown, and

therefore mysterious processes of nature. We cannot affirm that mankind may not, in the course of half a century, have ascertained not only numerous new and unknown properties, such as to give an entirely new aspect to the laws supposed to be those of nature, but have discovered results which must be concluded to indicate further elementary laws as yet unknown. But there is a sound rule, of which we shall have much occasion to speak further—it is this; that there is a certain perceptible analogy in the operations of nature, which it is chimerical and visionary to depart from, but within which the utmost latitude of conjecture may and even must be allowed, even to the apparent verge of extravagance. A known operation, working according to an ascertained law, may, according to this principle, be carried in experiment to any extreme length against which human ignorance has set up its canon of prejudice; because, in fact, there is nothing can be pronounced impossible, unless for some specific reason on the most rigidly ascertained grounds. On the other hand, to violate this analogy would be to take improbability for the guide of science; to neglect it would be to take chance, and drift upon the ocean of non-existence. The reader of these remarks cannot fail to keep in view, that their application is not to the grounds of strict inference, which, to have any value, must be derived by the strictest reasoning from the most rigid facts; but to the grounds of probable conjecture which is the guide of trial. In Mr Boyle's day, the founders of modern science might justly entertain a salutary terror against the visions of the empirical philosophy, founded as they were upon a mixture of superstition, lawless fancies, traditionary dogmas, crude hypotheses, and premature generalizations. And as human reason is ever oscillating to extremes, the new impulse would naturally lead the followers of Galileo and Bacon to take a narrow basis for their views in science; and in departing from the visionary fields of the old hermetic science, leave behind some solid and valuable truths. Looking on the subject with these reflections, we are rather led to admire the tempered and considerate spirit of Mr Boyle, than to qualify his character by the admission of an enthusiasm for the occult and mystical, which seems to have tinged his zeal and led him further into speculative inquiry than he would have gone in the next generation. With or without such a qualification—the extent, variety, and soundness, of his investigation, placed natural philosophy on a firm and broad foundation, and gave the great impulse, from which numerous inquiries of far less genius have since obtained higher celebrity.

The very titles of some of his works convey the sound election with which he observed the errors and obstructions of human inquiry, which impeded, and even still, in some measure, continue to impede natural science. Of this nature may be specified his "Free Inquiry into the vulgar notion of Nature;" and his "Disquisition into the final causes of natural things, and with what caution a naturalist should admit them."

It appears that several of his writings were lost by various causes, among which there occurs one not now very easy to apprehend. It is stated by himself, that he had lost numerous manuscripts by the surreptitious depredation of visitors. In 1686, he published some state-

ments of the various obstacles he had met with, and the difficulties which he had encountered in the publication of his writings. This is now chiefly important as one of the numerous indications of a state of literature altogether different from that of more recent times. It is now not very far from the truth to say, that the universal sense of literary men is one which would suggest an apology of an opposite purport from that of Mr Boyle's; and indeed, there are few prefaces which do not contain some implication of the kind. A modern writer may perhaps feel, with some reason, that he has to account for the public appearance, in which the public is but little or not at all interested: but Mr Boyle felt the solemn duty of one to whom it was committed to enlighten and instruct an age of great comparative ignorance. His apology indicates the entire absence of those sentiments of egotism and arrogance, of which such an apology might now be regarded as the language. But it is to be admitted that, in this respect, the claim of the scientific inquirer yet stands upon a peculiar ground; the successful prosecutor of discoveries must always possess a claim upon the mind of his age: he owes something to the world, and the world something to him—he stands apart, because he is in advance of his age—his appeal is the assertion of a duty, not the boast of a merit, or a demand for the admiration of the world. Such claims as Mr Boyle had to the respect and gratitude of his age, were then accompanied by much anxiety, and the sense of a jealous and earnest competition. The whole structure of science was to be built—and as the ignorance of nature had, till then, been occasioned by an entire perversion in the method and direction of the human mind—there was a wide waste of obvious phenomena which lay upon the surface, ready to offer themselves to the first glances of rightly directed inquiry. It was a consequence that, among the philosophers of the age, there was a jealous competition. In this was, then, first displayed that unscrupulous disregard to truth and justice, which has in so many instances disgraced foreign philosophers, who have shown an unpardonable readiness to appropriate the inventions and discoveries of English science. The reader will recollect the great controversy concerning the fluxionary or differential calculus, of which this was the period. Similarly, Mr Boyle had to complain of numerous instances in which he was the object of similar frauds. Many copied his writings without any citation of authority, or stated his experiments in their books as if they had made them themselves.

A life of indefatigable research and study could not fail to affect the extremely delicate constitution of Mr Boyle. Great temperance, and continual caution which is mostly enforced by so tender a frame, had perhaps made the most of his strength. But he at last felt it due to science, and essential to his ease and health, to restrict his labours, and to avoid all superfluous engagements. He seems to have been deeply impressed with that sense of the value of time which belongs to those who have great and permanent objects of pursuit, and an earnest desire to accomplish the truer and worthier ends of existence. The broad ocean of discovery, too vast for even the contemplation of the highest human reason, or for the mind of ages, lay yet untried in all its magnificent expanse before his mind's eye: he could anticipate

numerous tracts of research, and doubtless conceive numerous splendid results, which human life would be short to follow or attain. Such a sense is more penurious of its hours than the miser of his gold: the gold may be accumulated, but the measured moments can neither be increased nor recalled. As most men live, it is true that an hour gained or lost would be but a little more or less of a useless commodity; while to one like Boyle it was truly more than wealth could compensate: some such sentiment suggested the aphorism of Bacon, *ars longa, vita brevis*. Mr Boyle, whose labours were the practical illustration of Bacon's philosophy, left also an illustrious example of the strictest economy of time. Zealous in the pursuit of important truths, he saw that, with his diminished energies, and diminishing days, it was necessary to cut off all superfluities, and avoid all uncalled-for waste of time and labour. With this view he ceased drawing up those formal communications to the Royal Society, which but interrupted the business of investigation, led to premature discussion, and broke in upon the settled frame of his thoughts. With much regret he resigned his office of governor to the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England. He published an advertisement declining the numerous visits to which his great celebrity exposed him; and put up a board to indicate the hours when he could receive those whom he could not, or would not, refuse to see. For these he set apart two mornings and two evenings in each week.

He availed himself of the leisure thus obtained, not only to prosecute his important investigations, but to repair the loss of many valuable papers, and to put the whole in a more convenient and systematic order.

In 1691, Mr Boyle's health, which had never been strong, began to give way to such an extent, that he concluded it full time to prepare for his end, and executed his last will. The rapid indications of a failure of the powers of life increased through the summer, and in October were so far advanced that no hope remained of any very decided restoration. His decline was considered to have been accelerated by his extreme concern about the illness of his dear sister, the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had ever lived on terms of the tenderest attachment. And as they had been united through life, they were not to be painfully disunited by the grave. Lady Ranelagh died on the 23d of December, 1691; and on the 30th of the same month, she was followed by her brother: a man who, if regard be had to the combination of high philosophic genius, moral worth, and genuine Christian goodness, has not been equalled, in any known instance, in succeeding generations. Holding a foremost place among the philosophers of that age, he was equally prominent, and still more deserving of veneration and honour as a Christian. With a spirit too wise to desire the adventitious honours which had been showered, with a liberal hand, on all the members of his family, and were pressed by royal favour on his acceptance—he refused to obscure with a title that name which continues to be the grace and ornament of the records of a family which has produced many persons of worth and public distinction.

He was, in a high degree, instrumental in the propagation of the

gospel: for this purpose his influence and fortune were used with energy and perseverance. He spent £700 upon the Irish translation of the Bible—of which he sent 500 copies into Ireland, and 200 into the highlands of Scotland. He also had printed, at his own expense, 3000 catechisms and prayer-books, for the highlands—of which the spiritual welfare had been deplorably neglected. He gave £300 for spreading the gospel in America.

We have already mentioned his foundation of a lecture for the defence of revealed religion, of which the object was thus expressed: "To be ready to satisfy real scruples, and to answer such new objections and difficulties as might be stated, to which good answers had not been made," &c. The fruits of this noble institution have been rich: such men as Bentley, Harris, Clarke, Whiston, and Butler, form a constellation of bright lights in the train of the noble founder; and, doubtless, far more illustrious has been the result which lies beyond the estimate of human praise—"the turning of many to righteousness;" for, considering that such minds are endowed by heaven, and such efforts commanded to man, we cannot suppose them to be ineffectually employed. But we may here pause to dwell on the characteristic sagacity which planned such a lecture. In any other department of knowledge it might be presumed that one full statement of an argument, of which all the facts are so long and so fully known as those of Christianity, might be enough to put an end to all doubts and further arguments in one way or another. But the natural aversion of irreligious minds to the gospel has the very peculiar, though obviously natural effect, of leading men to find arguments to satisfy themselves with a perfect ignorance of its nature, facts, and evidences. There is a dislike to be convinced, peculiar to this one great argument: and hence the fertility of human invention in devising such arguments as may shut out all chance of disturbing the illusions of scepticism; that is, all such arguments as are independent of the question itself, and are, therefore, without limit. A curious consequence of this is, that every generation has brought forth its own peculiar form of infidelity; some argument of which the absurdity has become too manifest to be relied upon, even by the sceptics of the next. This curious illustration of the real elementary principle of scepticism, seems to have been contemplated in Mr Boyle's foundation.

As a philosopher, there is now some difficulty in doing strict justice to Boyle. His writings have been superseded by the completion, or the far advance which has been made in those branches of natural philosophy to which he mainly applied his attention. But it will be enough to say, that all the most eminent inquirers in the same track—such as, for instance, Priestley—have spoken of him as the founder of the important science of pneumatics. The testimonies of foreign philosophers are also numerous and important. He was, in England, the first follower of Bacon; and, though the branches of science which he cultivated by no means claim so high a rank, yet he may be called the predecessor of Newton, and that illustrious host of mathematicians who commenced and brought to perfection the noblest structure of knowledge that has been, or can be attained, by human powers. He must be viewed as the most eminent man in England, among those

who effected a great revolution in human knowledge; which was no less than a transition from the scholastic to the experimental schools—from mere words to facts. Of this great change the beginnings are, doubtless, to be traced to previous generations and other countries; but it would lead to wide digression to say more here upon a topic which we shall have frequent occasions to notice more at large.

We shall, therefore, conclude this sketch of Boyle, by a mere enumeration of his scientific writings. They are as follow:—

1. "New Experiments, Physico-Mechanical, touching the Spring of the Air, and its Effects, 1660." 2. "Sceptical Chemist, 1662;" reprinted in 1679; with the addition of Divers Experiments. 3. "Certain Physiological Essays and other Tracts, 1661." 4. "Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy, 1663." 5. "Experiments and Considerations upon Colours, 1663." 6. "New Experiments upon Cold, 1665." 7. "Hydrostatical Paradoxes, 1666." 8. "Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to Corpuscular Philosophy, 1666." 9. "The Admirable Refractions of the Air, 1670." 10. "The Origin and Virtue of Gems, 1672." 11. "The Relation between Flame and Air, 1672." 12. "On the Strange Subtily, Great Efficacy, &c., of Effluvia, 1673." 13. "The Saltness of the Sea, Moisture of the Air, &c., 1664." 14. "On the Hidden Qualities of the Air, 1674." 15. "The Excellence, &c., of the Mechanical Hypothesis, 1674." 16. "Porosity of Bodies, 1684." 17. "Natural History of Mineral Waters, 1684." 18. "Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ, 1691," which was the last work published during his life. But two posthumous works afterwards were published, viz., "Natural History of Air, 1692;" and "Medicinal Experiments, 1718."

VALENTINE GREATRAKES.

BORN A.D. 1628.—DIED CIRC. A.D. 1690.

THE claim of Mr Greatrakes to our notice is very peculiar, and such as, considering the very justifiable prepossessions of the reasonable class of men against all pretensions to which the term of quackery has been, or can be applied—it will, perhaps, be in some degree hazardous to notice with the equitable spirit of philosophic indifference. The great celebrity which he obtained in his day is, perhaps, characteristic of that day. It extended from the hut of the Irish peasant to the court of England, and furnished matter for wonder and discussion to philosophers and universities. But we are happy to seize the occasion which is thus offered of discussing an important topic which stands in some need of sober and impartial comment.

On the incidents of the life of Greatrakes we shall consult the utmost brevity. He is himself the authority for his early history. He was born in 1628, and was the son of William Greatrakes, of Affanche, in the county of Waterford. His mother was a daughter of Sir E. Harris, knight, and a judge in the king's bench. He was educated at the free school of Lismore, and designed for the university; but this destination was frustrated by the great rebellion which broke out

in his fourteenth year. He took refuge with his uncle, Mr E. Harris, who attended to the completion of his education with laudable diligence, and, as he says, "perfected him in humanity and divinity."

At the restoration, Mr Greatrakes was made clerk of the peace for the county of Cork, and a magistrate, and discharged the duties of these offices so as to obtain the respect of the district.

In the midst of such avocations, he became suddenly seized with an impression that he was personally endowed with some healing virtue: this incident must be related in his own words:—"About four years since I had an impulse which frequently suggested to me that there was bestowed on me the gift of curing the king's evil, which for the extraordinariness thereof, I thought fit to conceal for some time; but, at length, I told my wife; for whether sleeping or waking, I had this impulse; but her reply was, 'that it was an idle imagination.' But, to prove the contrary, one William Maher, of the parish of Lismore, brought his son to my wife—who used to distribute medicines in charity to the neighbours—and my wife came and told me that I had *now* an opportunity of trying my impulse, for there was one at hand that had the evil grievously in the eyes, throat, and cheeks; whereupon I laid my hands on the places affected, and prayed to God, for Jesus' sake, to heal him. In a few days afterwards the father brought his son so changed that the eye was almost quite whole; and to be brief (to God's glory I speak it), within a month he was perfectly healed—and so continues."

It is then stated that he proceeded to discover, and to display to the wonder of the whole surrounding country, a power of healing which was so great and so evident in its effects as to silence even the scepticism of physicians. And so great became his fame that crowds flocked around his dwelling, from all parts of the country, and filled his barns and out-houses with diseases of every kind. His fame soon spread to England, and he was invited over to cure lady Conway of an obstinate headache. In England, he was followed by multitudes: he failed to afford the desired relief to the lady Conway, but was successful in curing numbers of the poor people.

The practice of Mr Greatrakes was wholly gratuitous, and the power by which he effected his cures he attributed to a supernatural gift. In England, such pretensions soon led to public discussion—in which two parties took opposite views, both in a very high degree worthy of being noticed, as examples of two unphilosophical modes of solution which derive considerable importance from the frequency with which they may be observed to recur in the history of human opinion—one party at once attributing the cures to some supernatural gift, the other resolving the difficulty by some conjectural cause. Of these, the first assumes that all the operations and powers which are termed natural, are so thoroughly known that anything which cannot be accounted for, or resolved into an effect of some known cause, must be called supernatural. The other, still more absurd, escapes the difficulty by assigning some known but inadequate cause, which amounts to no more than giving a name to a thing, and then explaining it by that name. Thus, while Mr Stubbe wrote a pamphlet, in which he described the healing power of Greatrakes as a gift bestowed by God,

and with curious inconsistency described the elementary operation of the supposed gift—his adversaries attributed it to the power of friction, neglecting to observe, that if friction had anything to do with the cures supposed, it must be as the means of setting in motion some other cause, without a knowledge of which nothing was explained.

Mr Boyle was appealed to, and he appears to have viewed the question with the temperate and impartial mind of a philosopher—which is to be neither hasty to affirm nor deny. He admitted the possibility of miraculous gifts, because he found no absolute reason to deny it: but, considering the description of the actual facts, he saw no reason to class them as miracles: he justly observed, and the observation is very important, that they were wholly dissimilar from the miracles related in Scripture. He did not deny that there might be some mechanical cause, or some healing virtue applicable by the touch of the hand, especially considering the known powers of the imagination. And he illustrated his reasoning by examples of cures performed by the immediate and direct effect of this influence.

As subsequent controversies have given very considerable importance to the principles involved in this question, we shall not leave it without making some general remarks; and in doing this we shall, to the utmost extent, avoid the slightest leaning to the controverted opinions of any class of persons. It may be unnecessary to mention, that the main form in which these considerations have been latterly involved, has been the great controversy concerning mesmerism; or as it has been recently termed, animal magnetism.

On the facts, concerning which these questions have arisen, we are no further acquainted than by hearsay. But as they are not authoritatively contradicted, their reality may for the present purpose be *assumed*. Both parties have, so far as we have had cognizance, joined issue on the facts, and are at variance upon the law. We only design to notice here, the errors in reason which they have committed—what may become of the question concerning mesmerism, is a matter of great comparative unimportance: it is our object to guard the integrity of reason which is so apt to suffer grievously in the heat of such disputes.

Against those who have been the assertors or practitioners of mesmerism, two objections are to be made, neither of which demand much comment,—that of imposture, and that of premature theorizing. On the first, we must be very brief: we have not personally had any experience of the facts commonly alleged; they have been affirmed on very strong authority, and submitted to every test of which they seem capable. Some of them appear to admit of no deception. And it ought to be observed that, among the most intelligent of their opponents admissions have been directly or indirectly made, which amount to the concession of all that can be contended for short of idle speculation. The other charge is, indeed, but too well warranted against both sides; it rests on that common infirmity of human reason, which has from the beginning of time loaded human knowledge with the encumbrance of idle speculations. The almost universal fallacy of assuming that every thing known is to be explained by the best conjecture that occurs. Accordingly, the magnetists have in their tracts upon the subject, so amply involved their very debatable facts in such idle reasonings as

very much to multiply their vulnerable points, and to raise questions on which they can be assailed beyond the power of effective defence. When the ridiculous reason, or the absurd pretence, is exposed, the multitude, equally shallow in its scepticism as in its credulity, will easily be induced to overlook the facts. The charge of *sleight*, or imposture, is as effective as any other explanation—it is at least as cheap as a miracle.

Against the adversaries of the magnetists, the charges to be made are the hasty denial of facts; and the opposition of these facts, so far as admitted, by fallacies and evasions.

Of those who deny facts, simply on the ground that they are impossible, or that they have not witnessed them, there is nothing to be said—they are unreasonable, and not to be met by reason. The most respectable opponents of mesmerism are those who, admitting the facts so far as they have been actually ascertained by competent trial and observation, have considered it as a sufficient argument to silence all further consideration of the subject, to find a name for them, or to refer them to some known natural cause; and then take it for granted that there is nothing further, and assert that the whole matter is undeserving of further notice.

In the reign of Louis XVI. of France, the question was referred to a committee of professional men, who completely put an end to the question for the time, by referring the phenomena to *imitation*. This was explained by the fact of that species of sympathy which is known in numerous cases to take place in the human mind and body. The argument has been since taken up, and received various improvements of the same character—nervous influence has been of some use, and the mere agency of the imagination has been of still more. And, finally, in our own times, it has been thought full sufficient reason against the magnetists to say that the phenomena are no more than disease.

Now, what renders all this deplorably fallacious is, that every one of these objections may be fully admitted, and still leave every question worthy of consideration untouched. Imitation, as an act of the will, to which it may be referred as a cause, is not the kind of imitation intended: involuntary imitation is but an effect to be accounted for, and which can explain nothing. If the phenomena are such as to be properly called imitative, it neither tells nor explains to say that they are the effects of imitation; this is still but the very fact to be explained. If, however, a further step is taken towards the discovery of an efficient cause, and that nervous sympathy, or the influence of imagination be considered as such; the first point would be to trace the indications of these several causes in the actual phenomena; when this is done, it will remain to be proved that anything is gained in the controversy. The same may be said with greater force of the objection, that the phenomena in question are nothing but disease. The answer to all these is, that the phenomena of mesmerism or magnetism, are altogether independent of any theory by which their explanation may be attempted: they may be nervous, or some form of disease; but, if it can be proved that such facts have real existence, there is nothing to justify the charge of imposture maintained by

an explanation, which, if it has any force, proves something different. Our objection to such a course is this, that a presumed imposture is resisted by a gross fallacy. Before we leave this part of the subject we must observe of the methods of solution to which we have here adverted, that many of the alleged facts are such as to exclude altogether both imitation and imagination, and every other known agency. That the same facts are justly referred to certain diseased states of the mind or body, of which they are the known symptoms, presents a different question on which we have some remarks to offer.

Now, supposing the charge of mere imposture abandoned (as we believe it to be), by the most reasonable opponents; and the far more just objection made, that the effects in question are disease—that the practice is dangerous—and, though not imposture in one sense, yet is a most pernicious resource in the hands of quacks and other impostors. This may be very true, and if so cannot be answered. But, in the meantime, it does not justify the course which has been followed with regard to magnetism. It was not, perhaps, so much amiss in the time of Louis XVI., when investigation was limited, and authority despotic, to put down a pernicious practice by any means. But neither conclave, college, nor court, can now exercise the smallest influence to arrest the expansive curiosity and intelligence of the human mind—the tricks of night are too visible in the full daylight of reason. Such ineffectual opposition can only awaken resistance from the multitudes who wonder at magnetism, and the few who respect reason. Let the really rational opponents of magnetic experiments take a more open and philosophic course.

If the practice of magnetism is really pernicious, this is surely the *practical* ground to take against it; but this cannot effectually be taken by those who treat it as a fiction. Surely they who should have the leading voice in such a question, have put themselves inadvertently in a position from which the sooner they extricate themselves the better.

But if the allegations of so many of the most authoritative witnesses are—as we are here taking for granted—really true, there is a wider view of the subject.

If in any one single case out of a thousand trials—for the number of failures is of no real importance—any one of the most remarkable phenomena of mesmerism is actually produced, as a natural phenomenon, it is not less worthy of notice and investigation, than if the trial should succeed in every instance. The small class of facts, thus observed—supposing no defect in the observation—would be the certain indications of some principle, or of some process in human nature, beyond the limit of that circle of cause and effect hitherto ascertained. Such an extension of our knowledge would be rejected by no true philosophy. In such a supposition it is vain and absurd to pretend that all further questions, concerning such facts, must end by referring them to disease, or imagination, or nerves. None of which causes even make a seeming approach towards the explanation of the facts. If, for instance, there is a state of disease in which the patient becomes cognizant of things existing and passing elsewhere, and not otherwise known, it may be catalepsy; but it is evident that the symptom indicates some process beyond the ordinary range of human faculties, as

yet otherwise known. It is at once evident that no mental or physical cause yet distinctly known, named, or classed, in any department of natural phenomena, can account for it. It cannot be sympathy or imagination, or nervous affection, in any sense yet intelligibly contained in these words.

But it may, perhaps, be inexplicable—so is every fact in nature beyond some point—but, it is enough that it is, if truly stated, a fact which extends our knowledge of our intellectual constitution, by proving that it contains capabilities and provisions which are developed in certain states of disorder, more powerful in action and range than any known in health, and wholly *different in kind*. It surely manifests the *existence* of a function, and a capability which extends our knowledge of the human mind. If disease can develop some new sense, the provision is probably designed for some use beyond disease by the great Creator, who can scarcely be presumed to have made so elaborate a provision for the information of a cataleptic patient.

There is an objection which we have heard with concern and surprise. Some good men have expressed their fear, that the miracles of the Scripture history might be attributed to animal magnetism. When we recall the reasonings of the deist, we cannot but admit that such a fallacy would not be too absurd. The first principle of scepticism is the confusion of distinctions; and this, though it would be a most egregious instance, would not be one of the worst. But such an oversight can only, for a moment, be indulged in by those who are in the habit of arguing on the sacred narrative without having taking the trouble to look into it; as the miracles of either the Old or New Testament are not such as to admit of explanation either by magnetism or any other natural means—and must be wholly fable, or wholly supernatural.

As for the cures practised, or supposed to be practised, by Great-rakes, and others since his time—we believe that, in part, they may be safely attributed to the influence of the imagination. That they may also, to some extent, be attributable to the same influence as animal magnetism operating in some peculiar way, is not unreasonable to suspect. But, admitting the utmost as to the facts, we see no ground for the inference of any supernatural influence. It is easy to see why such a power, in the possession of an individual, should in certain circumstances be made available for imposture; but we cannot admit that imposture is to be best resisted by the weapons of fraud, or by that more comprehensive class of fallacies which from the beginning of time have retarded all knowledge. Any delusion which extensively affects the public mind must, in these days of opinion, be fairly examined; and when it becomes for any reason worth while to investigate, it ought to be such a fair investigation as alone can bear any decided conclusion. It should never be forgotten, on such occasions, that nothing can be called impossible but that which directly contradicts itself or some known truth.

We have been led into this discussion by a remark, in which we agree, made by one of the writers of Mr Boyle's life, in commenting on the same facts. "It may in the present age, perhaps, be thought that Mr Boyle ought to have laid more emphasis on the power of

imagination over organized matter, and the effects of animal magnetism or enthusiasm, and rejected altogether the notion of supernatural influences."

Greatrakes was himself under the firm, and we believe sincere, persuasion, that his power of healing was a supernatural gift. Some attacked him as an impostor, while others endeavoured to account for his cures, by the theory of a "sanative contagion in the body, which has an antipathy to some particular diseases and not to others." Among other opponents, St Evremond assailed him in a satirical novel. In the main, however, the most respectable physicians and philosophers of the time supported him with testimonies, which we should now find it hard to reject. Among these were Mr Boyle, Bishop Rust, the celebrated Cudworth, Dr Wilkins, Dr Patrick, &c. The writer of a brief, but full memoir of Greatrakes in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, cites a long letter from lord Conway to Sir George Rawdon, in which he gives an account of a cure to which he was an eyewitness. The subject was a leper who had for ten years been considered incurable. He was the son of a person of high respectability, and brought forward by the bishop of Gloucester, which makes fraudulent conclusion improbable—the cure was immediate. The case is, therefore, as strong and as well attested as any such case is likely to be.

The celebrity thus attained by Greatrakes in England was very great. And Charles II. who invited him to London, recommended him very strongly.

There is, however, no record of the latter part of his life. He is traced in Dublin, in 1681, when he was about fifty-three years of age.

WENTWORTH DILLON, EARL OF ROSCOMMON.

BORN A.D. 1633.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THE ancestry of this nobleman has been already noticed among these memoirs. He was son to the third earl of Roscommon, and by his mother, nephew to the illustrious earl of Strafford.

His father had been in the communion of the church of Rome, but was converted by Usher—so that he was educated as a protestant. His early years were wholly past in Ireland, and he first visited England when his uncle, the earl of Strafford, returned thither from his government, and carried him over to his seat in Yorkshire, where he placed him under the care of a Mr Hall, an eminent scholar. It is mentioned that, from this gentleman, he learned Latin without any previous instruction in grammar, of which it was found impossible to make him recollect the rules. The difficulty is, indeed, one of such frequent occurrence, that it is satisfactory to learn that his lordship was distinguished for the ease and purity of his Latin—in which he maintained a considerable correspondence.

The beginning of the civil wars made it unsafe to remain under the protection of the earl of Strafford, and, by the advice of archbishop Usher, he was sent to France. There was a Protestant university in Caen—here he studied for some time under the tuition of Bochart.

Having completed his course of study, he travelled through Italy, where he attained considerable skill in medals, and a perfect mastery of the language. He did not return to England till the restoration—he was favourably received by king Charles II., and made captain of the band of pensioners.

His intercourse with the dissolute court of Charles was productive of a hurtful effect upon his morals, and he abandoned himself for a time to excesses from which not many recover. He injured his estate by gambling, and is said to have fought many duels.

Some questions having arisen about a part of his property, he was compelled to visit Ireland, and resigned his post at court. The duke of Ormonde, soon after his arrival, made him captain of the guards. This post he soon resigned under the following circumstances,—as he was one night returning home from a gaming-house, he was suddenly set upon by three men, who, it is said, were hired for the purpose. He slew one of them, and a gentleman who was passing at the instant came to his assistance and disarmed another, on which the third ran away. The gentleman who thus seasonably had come to his aid, was a disbanded officer of excellent reputation, but in a condition of utter want. The earl, entertaining a strong sense of the important service to which he probably owed his life, determined to resign his own post in his favour, and solicited the duke for his permission. The duke consented, and the gentleman was appointed captain in his place.

He returned to England as soon as the arrangement of his affairs permitted. There he was appointed master of the horse to the duchess of York. He soon after married a daughter of lord Burlington.

From the time of his marriage he gave himself to literature, and became, as the reader is probably aware, one of the distinguished poets of that time. He was associated with all that was gifted and brilliant among the wits and poets of the town and court, and was joined with Dryden in a project for fixing the standard of the English tongue. The growing interruption of those ecclesiastical disturbances which had begun to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, doubtless, brought serious alarm to a generation which yet retained the memory of the preaching soldiers of Cromwell—damped the ardour of literary projects, and made his lordship doubt the safety of England. He resolved to pass the remainder of his life in Rome, and told his friends, that “it would be best to sit next to the chimney when it smoked.” Dr Johnson has observed that the meaning of the sentence is obscure. We do not think many of our readers will join in this opinion: if any one should, he has but to call to mind the religious opinions of the king and his brother, and the projects which the duke was then well known to entertain for the restoration of the pope’s supremacy in England and Ireland.

The earl’s departure was obstructed by a fit of the gout. In his anxiety to travel, he employed some quack, who drove the disorder into some vital part; and his lordship died in January, 1684. He was interred in Westminster Abbey.

The poetry of the earl of Roscommon is no longer known. He seems, however, to have been the first who conceived any idea of that correct versification, and that precise and neatly turned line which was

brought afterwards to a state of perfection by Pope and his followers. As Johnson has justly said, "He is elegant, but not great; he never labours after exquisite beauties; and he seldom falls into gross faults. His versification is smooth, but rarely vigorous; and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taste, if he did not enlarge knowledge, and may be remembered among the benefactors to English literature." He is also said, by the same great authority, to have been "the only correct writer of verse before Addison;" and cites a couplet from Pope, which pays him the higher tribute of having been the only moral writer in the licentious court of Charles. His great work was a Metrical Essay on Translated Verse. He also translated the *Arte Poetica*, from Horace. His translation of *Dies Iræ* is among the happiest attempts which have been made upon that untranslatable hymn. Many of his lesser productions have been mentioned with applause.

HENRY DODWELL.

BORN A.D. 1642. DIED A.D. 1711.

HENRY DODWELL was born in Dublin in 1642. His father, who had been in the army, possessed some property in Ireland, but having lost it in the rebellion, he brought over his family to England, and settled in York in 1648. Young Dodwell was sent to the York Free School, where he remained five years. In the meantime both his father and mother had died, and he was reduced to great distress from the want of all pecuniary means, till, in 1654, he was taken under the protection of a brother of his mother, at whose expense he was sent, in 1656, to Trinity College, Dublin. There he eventually obtained a fellowship, which, however, he relinquished in 1666, owing to some conscientious scruples against taking holy orders. In 1672, on his return to Ireland, after having resided some years at Oxford, he made his first appearance as an author by a learned preface, with which he introduced to the public a theological tract of the late Dr. Hearn, who had been his college tutor. It was entitled "De obsidatione," and published at Dublin. Dodwell's next publication was a volume entitled "Two Letters of Advice—1. For the suception of Holy Orders; 2. For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational." It appeared in a second edition in 1681, accompanied with a "Discourse of the Phœnician Theology of Sanconeathon," the fragments of which, found in Porphyry and Eusebius, he contends to be spurious. Meanwhile, in 1674, Dodwell had settled in London, and from this time till his death he led a life of busy authorship. Many of his publications were on the Popish and Nonconformist controversies; they have the reputation or showing, like everything else he wrote, extensive and minute learning, and great skill in the application of his scholarship, but little judgment of a larger kind. Few, if any, of the champions of the Church of

England have showed the pretensions of that Establishment so far as Dodwell seems to have done; but his whole life attests the perfect conscientiousness and disregard of personal consequences under which he wrote and acted. In 1688 he was elected Camden Professor of Theology in the University of Oxford, but he was deprived of his office after he had held it about five years, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. He then retired to the village of Cobham, in Berkshire, and soon after to Shottesbrook, in the same neighbourhood, where he spent the rest of his days. He possessed, it appears, an estate in Ireland, but he allowed a relation to enjoy the principal part of the rent, only receiving such a moderate maintenance for himself as sufficed for his simple and inexpensive habits of life. It is said, however, that his relation at length began to grumble at the subtraction even of this pittance, and on that Dodwell resumed his property and married. He took this step in 1694, in his fifty-third year, and he lived to see himself the father of ten children. The works for which he is now chiefly remembered were also all produced in the latter part of his life.

SIR WILLIAM Brounker, Viscount Castlereyns.

BORN A.D. 1620.—DIED A.D. 1684.

THIS eminent mathematician should have appeared at a somewhat earlier period of our labours. The particulars of his life, on record, are few. He was born in 1620—of his education we can only ascertain that it was irregular, but that, following the bent of his genius, he applied himself with zeal to mathematical science, and early obtained a high reputation among the most eminent philosophers of his day. On the incorporation of the Royal Society, he was elected *pro tempore*, the first president, and continued, by successive election, to fill this exalted station for fifteen years. During this period he contributed some important papers to the Transactions. To him is due the honour of the first idea of continued fractions. He also first solved some ingenious problems in the Indeterminate Analysis. Among his papers, in the "Transactions," the most remarkable are "Experiments concerning the recoiling of Guns; and a series for the quadrature of the Hyperbola."

He was appointed chancellor to the queen, and keeper of her seal—was one of the commissioners for executing the duties of lord high admiral. In 1681, he obtained the mastership of St Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower. He died at his house, in St James' Street, April 5, 1684, and was buried in a vault which he had built for himself in the choir of the hospital.

WILLIAM MOLYNEUX.

BORN A.D. 1656—DIED A.D. 1698.

WILLIAM MOLYNEUX was descended from a line distinguished by literary and scientific talent. His grandfather was Ulster king-at-arms, and is mentioned by Sir James Ware with eulogy, as "*venerandæ antiquitatis cultor*." He wrote a continuation of Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, which was not however published entire. His father, Samuel, was Master Gunner of Ireland, and wrote a practical treatise on Projectiles; he held a lucrative office also in the Court of Exchequer, and was much respected by the better classes of society in Dublin.

William was born in Dublin, April 17th, 1656. His health was weak; and, as he grew up, he appeared to have so tender a frame, that it was judged inexpedient to send him to a public school. A private tutor was therefore retained, and he was educated at his father's house till his 15th year, when he entered the university of Dublin, under the tuition of Mr Palliser, then a fellow, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. In the university, he obtained all the distinction then to be acquired by proficiency in the branches of learning then taught; and, having taken his Bachelor's degree, he proceeded to London, where he entered his name in the Middle Temple in 1675. At the Temple he continued for three years in the diligent study of the law. He did not, however, neglect his academic acquirements; and the mathematical and physical sciences, which were at that time beginning to advance, and had received a mighty impulse from the discoveries of the day, and the labours of several members of the Royal Society, among whom Newton, then in the commencement of his illustrious career, so won upon his philosophical and inquiring temper, that he was led to abandon his first selection of a profession, which, however attractive to the intellectual taste, is yet unfavourable to scientific pursuit. With this view, he returned to live in his native city in 1678, and soon after married Miss Lucy Domville, daughter of Sir William Domville, the attorney-general for Ireland. He quickly entered upon a course of scientific inquiry; and, feeling the strong attraction of astronomy, in which the most important branches yet remained as questions to exercise the ingenuity and anxious research of the ablest heads in Europe, he devoted himself for a time to this attractive science with the whole ardour of his mind. On this subject, in 1681, he commenced a correspondence with Flamsted, which was kept up for many years.

In 1683, he exerted himself for the establishment in Dublin of a Philosophical Society, on the plan of the Royal Society, of which he had witnessed the admirable effects in London. This society had been created in 1645, by the influence and efforts of Wren, Wallis, and other

eminent men, and afterwards became a centre to the efforts of experimental inquiry, to which the genius of Galileo had given an impulse, and Bacon a direction; and which was in this period so largely advanced by our countryman Boyle, under whose name we shall have to detail at length the history of this institution, and of those branches of human knowledge, to the cultivation of which it was mainly instrumental. To establish such an institution in Dublin, was to advance indeed a wide step upon the obscure domains of intellectual night; nor, since the foundation of the university of Dublin, had there been attempted a project which, if duly encouraged, would have been so widely beneficial to Ireland. Such was the enlightened and patriotic design of Molyneux, who was zealously joined by Sir William Petty and other eminent persons. Sir William Petty accepted the office of president, and Molyneux himself that of secretary. This institution, which in Dublin may, perhaps, at that period, be considered as premature, was not, in the strong collision of party, and the absorption of political passion, likely to be allowed a very distinguished or enduring existence; yet it became, like all such laudable efforts, the parent of others. It was productive of less doubtful benefit to the fortune of Molyneux, whose reputation it largely extended, and thus became the means of his introduction to that great man, the patron of every person or institution likely to promote the good of his country—James the first duke of Ormonde. By this illustrious nobleman, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Molyneux was, with Sir William Robinson, appointed surveyor of the king's buildings and works, and chief engineer.

In 1685, he had the honour of being elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to the transactions of which he became largely a contributor: many papers of his are to be found in the several volumes from the fourteenth to the twenty-ninth. The same year he also obtained an appointment to survey the fortresses on the Flemish coast, with a view to perfect his knowledge of the art of engineering. He took occasion to extend his travels through Holland and Germany; and, as he carried letters from his friend Flamsted to Cassini and other distinguished professors, he had the happiness to meet and converse with the most distinguished astronomers in Europe.

From these incidents, it may be imagined that his earliest productions were likely to be decided by the prevailing taste of his mind and character of his studies. On his return to Dublin, in 1686, he published an account of a telescope dial invented by himself. This account was republished in London in 1700.

On the publication of Newton's "Principia," in the following year, Molyneux received the sheets as they were printed, from Halley. He expressed his admiration and astonishment at that wonderful production of intellectual power, till then perhaps unequalled in the progress of human knowledge. He at the same time confessed the difficulty which, in common with many eminent mathematicians of that period, he found in the perfect understanding of its contents.

The calm pursuits of philosophy were not likely to continue long in the turbulent atmosphere of an Irish metropolis. The storms of civil dissension, never long dormant, in 1688 began with fresh fury to dis-

turb the unquiet population, and agitate the timid and peaceful with well-grounded terrors. The desolating series of events which we have related under the head of Tyrconnel, set fully in, and continued until terminated by a reaction still more deadly and fearful. The Philosophical Society was thus dispersed, and its members mostly compelled to escape from the fiery and terrible persecution which raged against the protestants. Molyneux removed to Chester, where he occupied himself in the composition of a work on Dioptrics, for which he had been for some time collecting facts, and perhaps making experiments. We have not seen this work, but think it most probably rather an attempt to embody, in a systematic form, the knowledge then existing, than containing any addition of his own. Mathematical historians at least make no mention of the labours of Mr Molyneux. The mention of such works may therefore be regarded merely as indications of the habits and intellectual character of the author. The skill and knowledge, however, thus exerted, must then have been very considerable, and the publication of such a work must have been thought important, as Flamsted gave his assistance in the arrangement of the matter, and Halley revised the proofs, and, at the author's request, inserted a well-known theorem of his own.*

During this residence at Chester, he had the affliction of losing his wife, who died there, leaving him one son. After the Revolution of 1689, he returned to Dublin, and was soon after elected member of parliament for Dublin. In 1695, he was again elected for the university, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He continued to represent the same distinguished constituency, the first perhaps existing in any representative government, during the rest of his life; a fact which might alone entitle him to the reputation of worth, ability, and learning.

He was soon after nominated by the lord-lieutenant as one of the commissioners for forfeited estates, with a salary of £500 a-year. But the task was neither suited to his tastes nor feelings: he was indifferent about money, and quickly resigned a laborious and highly invidious and unpopular office.

But the event of his life which has conferred an historical interest upon his name, and which forms our reason for bringing him forward at this period of our writing, was the publication of his pamphlet, published in 1698, and entitled, "The Case of Ireland, being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated."† This essay was occasioned by a discussion then in progress in the English parliament, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures. It derives much historical importance from the consideration, that it was the beginning of a struggle for the independence of the Irish legislature, renewed at several periods, and leading eventually to interesting consequences.

The argument of Molyneux contains no main point on which we have

* Dr Halley invented a general algebraical theorem, to find the foci of optic glasses; but we believe the theorem adverted to here, is a geometrical construction for finding the foci of rays diverging from, or converging to, a given point in the axis of a spherical lens, under certain conditions.

† Title of the edition published in 1773.

not already had to express some opinion. With the inference of Mr Molyneux we concur; but we take this occasion to express, and this argument to illustrate our strong dislike to the mischievous fallacy of that sort of political metaphysics to which he thinks it necessary to resort, for the proof of a plain matter of fact. We freely admit, that there are certain abstract principles involved in the history and general facts of the social state, to investigate which would demand the genius of a philosopher, and to apply them truly, the sagacity of a statesman. But it is to the inverse method of *a priori* reasoning, which begins by assumptions of states of society which never had existence, and first principles, which though they *may be true* in fact, are, *as assumptions*, quite gratuitous, that we must object as the fertile resources of the political sophist on every side of every question that can be raised. In the perfection of the Eternal Mind, we freely grant there may be certain immutable first principles, independent of the constitution of things, from which, if once known, all truth might be inferentially evolved; but we deny the competence of the authority by which a large class of writers have affirmed such principles, moral or social, independently of positive laws. Human rights are never, *in fact*, established in such assumptions, having in every real instance, a twofold basis fully adequate to their support; those positive laws and defined principles of right clearly promulgated in the express law of God, together with that expediency which has essentially governed social institutions: when we hear of original "rights," not derived from these, we ask for the charter. But to proceed to our author: the intent and principal heads of this argument may be best stated in his own words. They are as follows:—

"First, How Ireland became a kingdom *annexed* to the crown of England. And here we shall at large give a faithful narrative of the first expedition of the Britons into this country, and king Henry II.'s arrival here, such as our best historians give us.

"Secondly, We shall inquire, whether this expedition, and the English settlement that afterwards followed thereon, can properly be called a *conquest*? or whether any victories obtained by the English in any succeeding ages in this kingdom, upon any rebellion, may be called a *conquest* thereof?

"Thirdly, Granting that it were a *conquest*, we shall inquire what *title* a conquest gives.

"Fourthly, We shall inquire what *concessions* have been from time to time made to Ireland, to take off what even the most rigorous as-serters of a conqueror's title do pretend to. And herein we shall show by what degrees the English form of government, and the English statute-laws, came to be received among us; and this shall appear to be wholly by the *consent* of the people and Parliament of Ireland.

"Fifthly, We shall inquire into the precedents and opinions of the learned in the laws relating to this matter, with observations thereon.

"Sixthly, We shall consider the reasons and arguments that may be farther offered on one side and t'other; and we shall draw some general conclusions from the whole."

Before making any comment on the conduct of this argument by Molyneux, it is necessary to prevent any mistake respecting our de-

sign by anticipating an ulterior step, so far as to say, that in our simple judgment, the first point—"how Ireland became a kingdom annexed to the crown of England"—is, for the present view, of no importance whatever. In the interpretation of a verbal document, it may be most essentially necessary to discover the intent by such a reference to causes and previous acts: but we do not think that the method by which any political power has been primitively derived, can affect any question as to its extent, beyond the first *consequent settlement which defines and converts that power into a civil system of government*, to which all subsequent questions of right and authority must be referred. Until this takes place, the law of *force* prevails—a law which involves no other;—so long as *mere conquest* is the power, unwilling subjection to control is implied, and resistance a right. It is a question of strength, and admits of the natural balance of action and reaction; but so soon as a settled order of civil government is fixed with the consent of the conquered, (for without consent, they cannot refer to the settlement for rights,) the rights and wrongs of conquests are from that moment at an end. We shall quickly revert to this point. But thus far we consider a necessary preface to the affirmation, that we consider the argument altogether fallacious, by which Molyneux attempts to prove the point that Ireland was not conquered.

Ireland became first subject to England, by that species of armed occupation by which other nations have, in different periods of time, changed their population and government. This occupation was attended by all the ordinary circumstances of such invasions; but limited by the facts, that—1st, The political situation of Henry II. compelled him to proceed for a time by simply giving license to the military spirit of his barons: 2d, By the *cession* of the native chiefs, which necessarily terminated the progress of hostilities. These conditions, *so far as they go*, are conquest to all intents; that part of the author's definition which affirms that there must be resistance, is an unwarranted *assumption*. The question then becomes, first, how far the combined circumstances of force and cession went at *the same time*? Beyond this point—that is, if any still held out by force—the question would arise, by what means or under what conditions they yielded?

Mr Molyneux states, and we see no reason to dissent from his statement—"I doubt not but the barbarous people of Ireland at that time were struck with fear and terror of king Henry's powerful force which he brought with him; but still their easy and voluntary submissions *exempt them from the consequences of a hostile conquest, whatever they are: where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.*"

Now, in this paragraph, we must contend the entire essential part of conquest by force, is actually admitted; but of the words in italic character, part is nugatory and part absurd. It involves the absurd supposition, that a conquering expedition is like a cricket-match or a boat-race, for the mere trial of strength, and without any design of subjection or occupation. By yielding in time, bloodshed is averted; but before any further consequence is said to be prevented, it may be asked, in such case, what *can be said to be yielded*, and what is meant by "voluntary submission?" Surely nothing at all, if not that which the invader demands or is content to take. And this, whatever it

is, has been yielded to superior force. It is the submission of fear or conscious weakness, and can have no other source; for right is out of the question, until it has been established either by force or consent. We cannot see what additional right, bloodshed, and the slaughter and spoliation so often an attendant circumstance of conquest, would have given.

In his discussion of this case, Molyneux refers to that of England; it was (as he aimed it) an ingenious application of the *argumentum ad hominem*. "I believe," he says, "the people of England would take it very ill to be thought a conquered nation, in the sense that some impose it on Ireland; and yet we find the same argument in the one case as in the other, if the argument from the king's style of *conquestor* prevail." Considering the strong intellect of Molyneux, the comparison seems more like a jest than an argument. Unhappily for the argument, it must be admitted that England was conquered by William. Whether the manner or the immediate consequences be regarded, it is impossible for a conquest to be more complete. The country was invaded by a large force, and was taken possession of by the invader; the native government was set aside, the natives subjected, and the lands seized. The submission of the Saxons was allowed, for obvious reasons, to take the appearance of a voluntary submission; but the contrary was understood on both sides. The battle of Hastings was the conquest of England.

Turning from this nugatory question to the third and essential step of Molyneux, viz.:—"what title a conquest gives," it offers no difficulty. We have no objection to his conclusion, although we think it complicated with some considerations not of much importance to the argument;—as, for instance, the justice or injustice of the conquest, which we must observe in passing, cannot have any practical effect on the result, or be afterwards taken into account in any scale of right below that which weighs the strength of nations in the field of battle. Supposing a conquest to be made and completely terminated by the *formal* (for no more is essential to the argument) submission of the governing authorities and chief inhabitants, who have any power to resist, the practical question is then, what title is thus conveyed to the conqueror; and how this title is bounded by other considerations of right?

The title is nothing more or less than occupation by force. It would be a waste of time and space to inquire by what law or what jurisdiction such an occupation can be strictly declared illegal. It may, in the first act, according to certain general principles of equity, derived from the positive laws of God and man, be unjust, barbarous, and cruel, but these rules have no *direct* application, beyond the first acquisition; and the only jurisdiction which has any competency on the subject, is the opinion of civilized nations, which have, in our own civilized times, admitted certain conventional rules of conduct, which constitute the actual law of nations, and are, nevertheless, broken whenever it is found expedient. This is indeed, to be deprecated and deplored; but we must not be misled, even by our sense of right. Such laws of opinion had no existence in that primitive time, when, among other barbarous characteristics, the law of force was the law of right all over the world.

To constitute a LAW, there must be a sanction and a tribunal. But we waste our words; the right of all conquest is consent implied, the submission of the conquered. This rule is more for their benefit and protection than for the advantage of the conqueror; for without this saving condition, conquest would be compelled to proceed to extermination. Affirming, on these grounds, the full title of the conqueror, we may quote Molyneux for the point.

"First.—'Tis plain he gets by his conquest no power over those who *conquered with him*; they that fought on his side, whether as private soldiers or commanders, cannot suffer by the conquest, but must, at least, be as much freemen as they were before. If any lost their freedom by the Norman conquest, (supposing king William I. had right to invade England,) it was only the Saxons and Britons, and not the Normans, that conquered with him. In like manner, supposing Henry II. had a right to invade this island, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the *ancient race* of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of *free-born* subjects; they nor their descendants could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish. Now, 'tis manifest that the great body of the present people of Ireland are the progeny of English and Britons, that from time to time have come over into this kingdom, and there remains but a mere handful of the ancient Irish at this day;—I may say not one in a thousand; so that if I, or any body else, claim the like freedoms with the natural born subjects of England, as being descended from them, it will be impossible to prove the contrary. I conclude, therefore, that a *just conqueror* gets no power, but only over those who have *actually assisted* in that *unjust* force that is used against him.

"And as those that joined with the conqueror in a just invasion, have lost no right by the conquest, so neither have those of the country who *opposed him not*. This seems so reasonable at first proposal, that it wants little proof. All that gives title in a *just* conquest, is the opposers using *brutal force*, and quitting the law of reason, and using the law of violence, whereby the conqueror is entitled to use him as a *beast*; that is, kill and enslave him." The argument of this paragraph is, in our view, wholly inconsequent.

"Secondly.—Let us consider what that power is which a *rightful conqueror* has over the subdued opposers, and this, we shall find, extends *little farther* than over their lives; for how far it extends to their estates, and that it extends not at all to deprive their *posterity* of the *freedoms* and *immunities* to which all mankind have a *right*, I shall show presently. That the *just conqueror* has an absolute power over the *lives* and *liberties* of the conquered, appears from hence,—because the conquered, by putting themselves in a *state of war*, by using an unjust force, have thereby *forfeited their lives*. For, quitting reason, (which is the rule between man and man,) and using force, (which is the way of beasts,) they become liable to be destroyed by him against whom they use *force*, as any savage wild beast that is dangerous to his being.

"And this is the case of rebels in a settled commonwealth, who forfeit their lives on this account; but as to forfeiting their estates, it depends on the municipal laws of the kingdom. But we are now inquiring what the consequents will be between two contesting nations."

To the facts and main reasonings of this extract there seems little to be objected; but it turns, in some measure, on a principle which is too vague and elementary for the question really in his view, and is encumbered with consequences of a more doubtful kind, which his actual intent did not require. The question can be put to a shorter issue.

The right of conquest being *merely* the right of force, is determined by the immediate settlement which is consequently established, and carries with it the implication of consent. The conqueror, who must always be supposed to carry his conquest to the full extent that his purpose requires, takes life and property, and institutes some kind of government. All this is by the *right of war* as then understood: he imposes subjection, and receives the pledge of allegiance. To this point, power alone is his title, and the equity of his own breast, or his respect for opinion, his rule. From this point, the character of a conqueror, with all its rights, absolutely cease; his title is the settlement; his power the constitution of government, settled and received. The only question about his power is, what is the law? not how he obtained it.

We grant that such a question may at any time be raised by a nation; but it never can be decided, unless on the original terms: it is a question for arms alone to decide. Thus, though we arrive at the same conclusion with our author, we must object to some of his assumptions, which vitiate an important argument. Perhaps the reader may consider it trifling to quarrel with an argument in the intent of which we concur; but the manner of reasoning is not so indifferent: there is danger in the admission of a fallacy, which seems to open questions that have no existence in fact. It is neither just nor safe to say, that any question of right, in after times, can depend on an event of six centuries back. Such a mode of inquiry goes to the origin of rights, and necessarily arrives at some source of violence or usurpation. It is a mistake in principle, and, when carried far enough, is opposed to all rights whatever. And this it is which makes prescription the very foundation of human rights.

Nor does Molyneux stop until he allows his argument to carry him beyond the limits of discretion as well as reason. But we will not further detain the reader with disquisitions upon slight misapplications of principle, which no discriminating reader can fail to detect. Mr Molyneux having admitted the practice of the world to be different from his theory, next concedes the point for argument, and with more justice and force of reasoning, takes the ground already stated, of "concessions granted by" the conqueror.

From this he proceeds to an inquiry, for the purpose of showing "what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom." The steps of his argument from this become disentangled from the fallacies of his philosophy, and he

states perspicuously and fairly, the several authoritative declarations, or grants and concessions, by which the kings of England, commencing with Henry II., established and authorized the parliaments in Ireland. These have been sufficiently detailed in the course of these memoirs, and demand no present comment. Mr Molyneux pursues his argument to show the uniform independence of Ireland as a distinct and separate kingdom, upon authorities which we consider to be fully sufficient for such an inference, but familiar to the reader. He proves the fact up to the demise of Richard I., when the kingdom was absolutely vested in prince John, who then succeeding to the English crown, the question arises, whether England could have then, or from that period, obtained any dominion over Ireland? As it is evident that there can be no ground in theory why one of the two islands should obtain such authority rather than the other, it remained to inquire whether there existed any ground in fact, or in the nature of positive institution. To set this in a very strong point of view, Mr Molyneux cites various charters and declarations of right, in which it is quite apparent, that at the several times of their execution or declaration, Ireland was separate by the admission of the English government. Some apparent exceptions occur, of which he easily disposes, and which hardly amount to fair ground for exception. The language of the English parliament occasionally seems to imply a jurisdiction, or a power to bind Ireland; but the cases are either proofs of a disposition to usurp that right at the several times of their occurrence, or are to be construed as simply declaratory of the sense of enactments which had become law in Ireland by the adoption of the Irish legislature: something, too, we imagine, should be allowed for pure inadvertence. From a variety of instances, he makes it manifest, that such laws as were passed in England with the design of comprising both kingdoms, were uniformly transmitted to Ireland, to be passed into law by the Irish parliament; and indeed the history of Poyning's law, with the various controversies of which it was to the latest times the subject, make that question clear enough. It would, with such a cumbrous system of legislative machinery as is evidenced by the entire parliamentary history of this island, be inconsistent and gratuitous to assume a superfluous, inoperative, and occasional capacity of legislation in the English Parliament. The three express cases, which had been commonly cited by lawyers to maintain the adverse view, are clearly replied to by Mr Molyneux;* but there is a class of cases to which he adverts, which we shall more particularly point out, as curious for the evidence they give of the absence of any very precise or systematic principle in the ancient boundaries and limitations of the several jurisdictions and authorities under discussion. "There have," says Molyneux, "been other statutes or ordinances made in England for Ireland, which may reasonably be of force here,

* These cases, as cited by Molyneux, are:—1. Statutum Hiberniæ, 14 Hen. III. 2. Ordinatio pro statu Hiberniæ, 17 Ed. I. 3. The Act that all staple commodities passing out of England or Ireland shall be carried to Calais as long as the staple is at Calais, 2 Hen. VI. c. 4.

because they were made and assented to by our own representatives. Thus we find in the white-book of the Exchequer in Dublin, in the 9th year of Edward I., a writ sent to his chancellor of Ireland, wherein he mentions: '*Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prelatorum comitum baronum et communitatis regni nostræ Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eboracum facta.*' These, it may be supposed, were either statutes made at the request of the states of Ireland, to explain to them the common law of England, or, if they were introductive of *new laws*; yet they might well be of force in Ireland, being enacted by the assent of our own representatives, the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of Ireland; and, indeed, these are instances so far from making against our claim, that I think nothing can be more plainly for us; for it manifestly shows that the king and Parliament of England would not enact laws to bind Ireland without the concurrence of the representatives of this kingdom."

"Formerly," he continues, "when Ireland was but thinly peopled, and the English laws not fully current in all parts of the kingdom, 'tis probable that then they could not frequently assemble with convenience or safety to make laws in their own parliament at home; and, therefore, during the heats of rebellions, or confusion of the times, they were forced to enact laws in England. But then this was always by proper representatives; for we find that, in the reign of Edward III., (and by what foregoes, 'tis plain that 'twas so in Edward I.'s time,) knights of the shires, citizens, and burgesses, were elected in the shires, cities, and burroughs of Ireland, to serve in Parliament in England, and have so served accordingly. For amongst the records of the Tower of London, Rot. 1, clause 50, Edw. III. par. 2, mem. 23, we find a writ from the king at Westminster, directed to James Butler, lord-justice of Ireland, and to R. archbishop of Dublin, his chancellor, requiring them to issue writs under the great seal of Ireland, to the several counties, cities, and burroughs, for satisfying the expenses of the men of that land who came over to serve in parliament in England. And in another roll, the 50th of Edw. III., mem. 19, on complaint to the king by John Draper, who was chosen burges of Cork, by writ, and served in the Parliament of England, and yet was denied his expenses by some of the citizens; care was taken to reimburse him.

"If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded that the parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in the parliament of England; and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for."

Having thus disposed of the ancient precedents, Mr Molyneux observes of the more recent, "that they involve the very question under discussion, being the very grievances complained of as unwarranted innovation." He nevertheless proceeds to inquire into their history and force as precedents.

Having, in the previous argument, established the conclusion, that before 1641 there was "no statute made in England, introductory of

a new law, that interfered with the right which the people of Ireland have to make laws for themselves," he admits that in 1641, and after, some laws were "made in England to be of force in Ireland."

Of these he shows in some detail, that they were liable in most instances to some qualifying consideration, by means of which the precedent would be destroyed. They were repealed by the Irish Parliament, which, in such case, would show that they did not bind the Irish legislature, or they were made in times of such flagrant confusion and disorganization of Ireland, as to be justified by the *necessity* of the times; a point which involves a primary principle, which Molyneux does not appear to have contemplated;* or they were virtually English laws which had a secondary effect on Irish trade with or through England, but further had no force in Ireland. The Acts of Charles II., namely, the Navigation Act, and two prohibiting the exportation of Irish wool, he admits to be exceptions to his argument, but denies that they are rightful enactments.

Mr Molyneux next and last arrives at his own time. In the remainder of the discussion, there is little on which we have not had occasion to dilate.

Mr Molyneux cites several instances of acts in the reign of William III., of the English parliament comprehending Ireland in their provisions, and which met with unquestioning obedience. On the question, how far such instances might be regarded as precedent, involving a right, he meets the several cases with arguments mostly the same as those already adverted to in the more ancient instances. Either the necessity arising from the state of the kingdom, or the implied consent of Irish representations, or the consent, *sub silentio*, of the Irish legislature, to laws enacted seasonably in England for the evident benefit of Ireland. On these cases we may also repeat our observation, that in a state of the kingdom uniformly marked by the want of systematic precision in the definition of its legislative and executive departments, and of which the civil organization was so incomplete and immature, precedents must be viewed as of little or no authority. The authority of precedent involves the principle of a certain system of laws and authorities, of which they are assumed to be the true result in certain contingencies: without this a precedent is itself no better than an accident. The whole history of Ireland is, from the very beginning to the date of this memoir, a succession of irregular processes and workings. There was, properly speaking, no theory: the question always should have been simply, what was the existing law—what were the rights of the kingdom by concession, treaty, or authoritative declaration of an acknowledged power in the state? On this general principle, we agree with Mr Molyneux, that such cases do not in any way involve a right; and the more so, as a great and overwhelming preponderance of cases can be brought to confirm the ordinary recognition of an opposite right. So far as there was

* The political necessity thus admitted, appears to reopen the entire question, and place it on other grounds; such, indeed, as to make the entire of the preceding argument a mere exercise in special pleading. Such a necessity might be established from the conquest to the union.

a constitutional system, it excluded the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland.

The same conclusion may be made with regard to any inferences from certain analogous questions, which he entertains, so far as they can be admitted to have any bearing on the question. It is inferred by Molyneux, that Coke's opinion that an English act of parliament should be held binding in Ireland, was derived from his notion of the subordination of the king's bench in Ireland, to that in England; and this subordination seemed to be apparent, from the fact of a writ of error lying from the former to the latter. The practice is admitted, and its origin inquired into by Molyneux. He first notices the opinion of many Irish lawyers of his time, that these writs originated in an express act of the Irish parliament, "lost amongst a great many other acts which we want, for the space of 130 years at one time, and of 120 at another time;" to which he adds, "but it being only a general tradition, that there was such an act of our parliament, we only offer it as a surmise, the statute itself does not appear." Secondly, "When," says Mr Molyneux, "a judgment in Ireland is removed, to be reversed in England, the judges in England ought, and always do, judge according to the laws and customs of Ireland, and not according to the laws and customs of England, any otherwise than they may be of force in Ireland." Now, this is surely in itself conclusive; because it contains a direct exclusion of the right of the English parliament. The fact of a judgment being reversed, on the ground of English law, as such, would, it must be admitted, be a direct affirmation of the binding power of the English legislature. This important rule Molyneux confirms, by proper citations of cases, and concludes that the "jurisdiction of the king's bench in England, over a judgment of the king's bench in Ireland, does not proceed from any subordination of one kingdom to the other, but from some other reason." This reason he conjectures, and his conjecture is curious and interesting.

The want of skill in the interpretation of English laws, which had been largely adopted in Ireland, rendered the assistance of the English judges necessary from time to time, and "occasional messages to England, before judgment given in Ireland, to be performed of the law." The effect of such a custom would be obviously to lead the still more anxious reference of the litigants to the same source of authority, as well as afford a strong and warrantable ground to the losing party to question the soundness of the decision of an Irish judge. Accordingly, Mr Molyneux goes on to state that, "after decrees made, persons who thought themselves aggrieved by erroneous judgments applied themselves to the king of England for redress." And "thus," says Molyneux, "it must be, that writs of error (unless they had their sanction in parliament) became in use." The process is at least natural, and more likely than any other depending on conjecture. The objection to this, drawn from the previous conclusion, that the judgment was finally according to Irish, and not English law, is nugatory, for it admits the point in question; but it is enough to recollect that the common law of England was, with slight exceptions and modifications, law in Ireland, by various charters of ancient kings, as well as enactments of the Irish parlia-

ments. On this question Mr Molyneux also draws an argument, from the fact that in writs of error suit is made to the *king only*. We need not dilate on so obvious a point.

We may observe here, that in this inference from writs of error, two distinct arguments are involved;—first, the analogy whereby the subordination of the parliament is inferred from that of the court. This is clearly replied to by the affirmation that the appeal lies to the king. The other is, that the authority of the English court must needs involve that of the enactments of the English legislature, and is met by the reply, that the judgment was still according to Irish law, while the practice is accounted for by the fact, that numerous English laws had been at several times made law in Ireland, with the consent, or by the will of the Irish legislature.

Mr Molyneux concludes his argument by replying to several miscellaneous objections: into these it is unnecessary to proceed. Some of them are but repetitions of points already noticed; some are frivolous; some merely resting on, and resisted by, the absurdities of old political theories, as to the rights of nations or of mankind. We shall merely enumerate them here.—England's title, on the consideration of money spent in the reduction of the country; the right of England to bind by force any country which may injure its trade; the fact that Ireland is a colony from England. Such are the remaining objections; which contain no force, and admit, therefore, little reply. We shall only remark, that Mr Molyneux finally opposes to the doctrine of legislative dependence, the strict provisions of Poyning's act, which would be a "needless caution, if the king and parliament of England had power at any time to revoke or annul such proceedings."

In 1782, this subject was renewed in a spirited debate in the Irish house of commons—a debate in which Grattan, Flood, Langrishe, and other eminent Irishmen, whose names are yet on the tongues of living men, bore a remarkable part. We shall have, therefore, to look again on the subject, and, as well as we can, recall the circumstances in a more interesting aspect. Mr Molyneux was actuated by a pure sentiment of patriotism, and we believe his true feelings on the occasion are justly expressed in his preface, in which he tells the reader "how unconcerned I am in any of those particular inducements, which might seem at this juncture to have occasioned the following discourse." "I have not any concern in wool or the wool trade. I am no ways interested in the forfeitures or grants. I am not at all solicitous whether the bishop or the society of Derry recover the land they contest about."

The pamphlet excited a vast sensation on its appearance. The English house of commons was infuriated by an argument which seemed to be an attack on their authority, and in their inconsiderate heat passed a resolution, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They presented an address to king William, who felt himself compelled to give

way to the impulse of the moment, and promise to enforce the laws which bound the Irish parliament. But the animosity of their excitement is more clearly indicated by the fact, that they ordered the offending pamphlet to be burned by the hangman.

That such proceedings were not altogether a surprise to the author, may be collected from a paragraph in his first preface, in which he writes, "I have heard it said, that perhaps I might run some hazard in attempting the argument; but I am not at all apprehensive of any such danger. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we may not be allowed to complain when we think we are hurt," &c.

The pamphlet received several replies, and was generally received with a strong sensation of favour or hostility by the Irish public. It was at the time not quite unseasonable. The violent effects of a long and destructive revolution had left a collapse upon the public mind, which in Ireland has often been the effect of over excitement, so that the calm was as likely to prove fatal as the storm. Insubordination is the precursor and parent of servility; and the sentiments of terror, and vindictive memory of suffering and wrongs, too naturally subside into the disposition to find safety and revenge in oppression.

There was a strong friendship between Molyneux and Locke, in whose essay on the human understanding his name has the honour to be mentioned as "that very ingenious and studious promoter of real knowledge," in a manner which shows the high and intimate correspondence on questions then of the utmost literary interest, which existed between him and that great and truly illustrious philosopher. The problem there mentioned as coming from Molyneux, is necessarily trite to every academical reader; but as our circle comprehends a larger compass, we shall extract it here, as giving a higher notion of intellectual power than can be conveyed on any political topic. The design of Mr Locke is to explain and illustrate his proposition, that the ideas of sensation are often changed by the judgment; or, in other words, that a large class of ideas, which are supposed to be pure sensations, are by habit compounded from our knowledge of the reality of things, and our sensations. The following is the illustration:—"Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere of the same metal, and nighly of the same bigness, so as to tell when he felt the one and the other, which is the cube and which is the sphere. Suppose, then, the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man to be made to see. Query, whether by his sight before he touched them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the globe, which the cube?" To which the acute and judicious proposer answers,—“Not; for though he has obtained the experience of how a globe, how a cube affects his touch, yet he has not yet attained the experience, that that which affects his touch so or so, must affect his sight so or so; or that a protuberant angle in the cube that pressed his hand unequally, shall appear to his eye as it does in the cube.” “I agree,” continues Locke, “with this thinking gentleman, whom I am proud to call my friend, in his answer to this, his problem.”* This problem involves the entire

* Locke's Essay, b. 11, c. 9, § 8.

theory of the chapter in which it occurs, and if there had been no previous communication on the subject, indicates an uncommon range of accurate thought. There appears to have indeed been a remarkable similarity of intellectual constitution between Molyneux and his illustrious friend. A fact, less to the honour of both, displays a striking coincidence. Speaking of Blackmore's poetry, in a letter to Locke, Molyneux writes, "All our English poets, except Milton, have been ballad-makers to him." To which Locke replies, "I find, with pleasure, a strange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine."

As was then usual in the world of letters, this correspondence originated and continued long without any meeting having taken place. On the occasion of his celebrated pamphlet, Molyneux expressed a great anxiety to meet and consult with Locke. He crossed over to England in the year 1698, and remained some months, when he had the happiness of becoming personally intimate with his honoured correspondent. On his departure, another meeting was concerted for the following spring. But his health was frail, and his constitution broken by one of the most terrible diseases to which the human frame is liable. Soon after his return, a fit of the stone led to the eruption of a blood-vessel, of which he died in two days, October 11th, 1698. His interment took place in St Andrew's church, where there is a monument and Latin inscription.

SIR RICHARD COX.

BORN A. D. 1650—DIED A. D. 1733.

Sir Richard Cox is one of the few eminent persons belonging to the period before us, whose rise in the state was independent of the fortune of wars and revolutions, or the accidents of birth. He was a man whose high moral and intellectual endowments, would in any age, under circumstances not peculiarly unfavourable, have attained the highest civil distinctions. He was born in Bandon, in the year 1650. His father was a captain of horse, and died while his son was yet but three years old; he was, in consequence, transferred to the care of his maternal grandfather. This gentleman having also died in a few years, the charge appears to have devolved to his son, Mr. John Bird, of Clonakilty. By his care, young Cox received the first rudiments of education, at a grammar-school in Clonakilty. His taste for the practice of the law was developed, perhaps, by the accident of his uncle holding the office of Seneschal in the manorial courts, under the appointment of one of the Boyle family. In this obscure court, young Cox began to practise as an attorney, in his eighteenth year; and, as a matter of course, his practice soon extended to the other court of session held by the civil authorities of that old borough, from which, until the Union, the earls of Shannon returned two members to parliament. The practice of these minor courts was (and is) such as to demand no very extended acquaintance with the law, and in the narrow range of cases which fell under their jurisdiction, a considerable discretion was assumed or vested in the officers. In these courts the line

of demarcation between the practice of the attorney and the advocate was but indistinct; and here, in the advocacy of such petty cases as demanded little more than a shrewd common sense, and a ready tongue, and the knowledge of the rules and equities of the petty dealings of a little obscure seaport, the forensic propensities of this eminent lawyer were developed and confirmed; though, we may presume, little instructed.

Such a range could not long continue to confine the ambition of a mind so alert and industrious. Finding his means sufficient, Cox entered his name, in 1661, as a law student, in Gray's Inn. Here his superior intelligence soon raised him into notice; and having completed his terms, and the course of legal attainment then considered necessary, he returned to his native country, and soon after contracted a marriage with a lady, who had, or was reputed to have, rights to a large property. For a young legal aspirant, a lawsuit seems to have been no inappropriate fortune; but he was destined to be less fortunate as a suitor than as a servant of the law, and failed in making good the claims of his wife. The circumstance appears to have given for some years an unfavourable turn to his views in life: his spirits may have been depressed by feeling himself hopelessly involved in a poor connexion, at a period of life which most demands the exertion of free and unencumbered powers. It is still more likely that his funds were exhausted, and that residence in town was become no longer practicable. He returned to Clonakilty, where he took a farm, and sunk gradually into that kind of indolence of pursuit, to which persons of intellectual temper are most liable, when deprived of their congenial and proper excitement in the atmosphere of ambition or studious conversation.

But while his talents lay unemployed, and the native impulses of his mind stood still, the progress of time was marked by the increase of his family. His lady, whose promise of wealth had dissolved into an unsubstantial disappointment, was fortunate in the production of a numerous gradation of youthful mouths, which demanded to be fed; and Richard Cox was roused from the quiet ease of his farm, to the anxious consideration of the ways and means of life.

By the kindness of Sir Robert Southwell, he was quickly restored to the high road of advancement. In 1685, being then in his thirtieth year, he was elected recorder of Kinsale, and removed with his young family to Cork, where he entered at once on the practice of his profession, with rapid and honourable success.

His professional progress was destined to be retarded by interruptions, which were afterwards in no small degree instrumental to his rise. He had attained considerable practice, when his natural sagacity enabled him to perceive the approach of that reverse to the protestant interests in Ireland, which we have already so fully traced in a former memoir. The succession of James II. to the throne was the commencement of a strenuous effort to restore the supremacy of the two kingdoms to the Pope; and though the settled principles, and advanced political maturity of England, made it necessary to proceed with a cautious and underhand progress; in Ireland, where very opposite conditions prevailed, the real intentions of the court were not to

be overlooked by any person of ordinary observation. In Ireland, the mass of the aristocracy, as well as of the commercial interests, were protestant, and the civil authorities and legal constitution had that conformity which such a predominance of interest demanded in that age. But the peasantry were of the communion of the church of Rome; and they had now, since the days of James I., been governed by their priesthood—a body of men against whom it is no accusation to say, that their whole political morality was then centred in an earnest and conscientious principle of devotion to the Roman See. To this statement is to be added, that there was a large intermixture of persons and families of broken fortune, from varied causes, who were of the popular persuasion, and who had never relinquished the prospect of a reinstatement in possessions, which justice, the fortune of war, or the vicissitudes of fortune, and the advance of commercial wealth, had long transferred into other hands. With such elements smouldering under the recollections of 1641, and though hidden by the ashes of a generation scarcely extinct, it needed no deep insight to perceive what was to be the effect of a new struggle, in which these elements of wreck and ruin were to be blown by the breath of royal power and influence. To calculate on the same reaction in favour of right and justice, was not beyond the compass of reason; but far too unsatisfactory and uncertain for the fears of the boldest, who, like Cox, looked practically on the course of events. He relinquished his advantages, and sacrificing a present income of £300 a-year, removed for security with his family to Bristol.

He had, however, by that time, fortunately attained considerable reputation as a sound lawyer and able advocate, and being well known, he was not long destitute of business, but contrived to obtain an income competent to the support of his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. It was during this interval that he compiled the greater part of his known historical work, entitled "*Hibernia Anglicana*," often referred to in these memoirs.

Thus engaged, Cox continued at Bristol till the landing of the prince of Orange in England. On this event, while all was yet doubt, embarrassment, and the confused clamour of party, he hastened to London, and took a decided, and, we believe, not ineffectual part, in favour of the revolution. He published a pamphlet, in which he insisted on the necessity of giving the crown to William, and of sending relief to Ireland. His merits were at once recognised, or his patrons were at least efficient in recommending them. He was made under-secretary of state; and soon after accompanied Sir Robert Southwell, as secretary, to Ireland. His eminent sagacity, and extensive acquirements, here became so conspicuous, that he rose in the royal regard with rapidity; and when Waterford was surrendered, he was at once appointed recorder to that city. This was but a step to further elevation; and few months elapsed when he was raised to the bench, as one of the justices of the common pleas, on the 13th of September, 1690.

At this period of our history, the several functions of administration had not yet received the separate and ascertained character which belongs to mature forms and states of government. There was a necessary indistinctness in the limits of the different departments; the restrictions of civil form and professional privilege were comparatively

slight. The circumstance was at least favourable to talent: the person whose skill, superior efficiency, knowledge, moral virtues, or perhaps vices, raised him to rank or station, seldom failed to obtain employment, and to be raised to authority, in whatever department his inclination prompted him to look for promotion, or his capability recommended him. Cox, who in addition to considerable acquirements in general and professional knowledge, possessed an active temper and great practical sagacity, was thus prepared to catch to the utmost every gale of favour and preferment. He had been hardly raised to a position which would now be considered to demand the full devotion of the entire available industry of the most competent lawyer, when he obtained a promotion of equal importance, which must have exacted equal activity and confidence in a different department, having, in about half a-year from the date of his judicial appointment, been made military governor of Cork.

For this latter station Cox was eminently fitted; at least if regard be had to the time. His firm temper of mind and sagacious understanding communicated to his entire conduct that decided and unbending line of duty which the condition of that province demanded; while a stern and high-minded integrity obtained for him the respect of those who had any regard for such qualities, and ensured him the cordial support of those who were the immediate witnesses of his actions, and whose support was most needful. But, as inevitably must happen, and always has happened, in the struggles of Ireland,—where the inveteracy of party feeling renders men incapable of estimating human actions on any general ground of obligation,—his conduct in this station has been loudly arraigned for the extreme rigour which he was compelled to have recourse to. Writers who have discussed the confused politics of that period have too much suffered their understanding and temper to be absorbed in its spirit, not only entering with an undue warmth into the passions of the parties, but absolutely putting on their colours, ranging under their banners, and seeing through the medium of their prejudices. But after having witnessed the flagrant realities of the long and calamitous struggle of the revolution, and seen the actual and fearful effects of an universal relaxation of all the bonds of order, he was too well taught, that tranquillity, general security, and the peaceable progress of social improvement and civilization, were only to be obtained by the powerful and summary suppression of turbulent spirits,—only to be secured by the rough and stern hand of force. It is always easy for those whose habits of mind have been warped by perpetual advocacy, and who are engaged in the partial endeavour to justify and palliate every act of the side they espouse, to persuade themselves to such an extent, in favour of fallacies which are habitually diffused throughout the very texture of their intellects; as to imagine, that while the popular mind was in a state of unnatural excitement, their leaders still alert to seize occasion, while the hope of returning confusion made men ready to defy the law, and a generation trained to crime and insubordination, was, like suppressed fire, ever starting at every air-hole,—to imagine that they were to be held in peaceable and orderly subjection by the calm and tempered routine of balanced equity and justice. Popular excitement, never at any time grounded on the

dictates of political wisdom or justice, never was, or will be calmed by the appeal to reason, or satisfied in any way but by an unreserved triumph: unless when reason and justice are fortunately sanctioned and enforced by such means as alone can be felt or comprehended by untrained intellects and undisciplined passions. But in that uncivilized generation, the salvation of the land depended entirely on a timely and vigorous application of the only resource which their moral and intellectual condition permitted to be even understood; and we therefore consider it to the praise of Cox, that he availed himself effectually of those means. During his government in the county of Cork, though the frontier of his province extended eighty miles, with twenty garrisons under his charge, he continued to preserve order, unknown elsewhere, and never allowed the Jacobites to gain an inch of ground.

We may mention one instance of firmness and vigorous promptitude, which happened in this period of his life, the political history of which we have sufficiently detailed. De Ginckle had written to governor Cox to request a thousand of the Cork militia, who, under his superintendence, are said to have arrived at a very high state of military discipline, though the fact does not appear from the following anecdote. Of the required force all had already marched but 160 men, who positively refused to stir from their country. The colonel, after a vain resort to every means of persuasion, repaired to Cox, who declared that he would soon make them march. Surrounded by a party of gentlemen and officers, he rode up to them, and in a commanding and firm tone, asked why they were not on their march. One of them stood forth, and began to reply; the governor interrupted and addressed them in a few words, in which he asserted his power over them; but added, that as he did not desire the company of cowards, he would not use it;—he said, that he was sure there were among them some who were not afraid to fight for a king and country they loved, and that such would follow him; the rest might return to their homes." They all felt, and answered the appeal to their pride by immediate submission to order.

His able and spirited discharge of duties, so apparently foreign from his previous habits, obtained for Cox great and universal reputation. His commission and the scope of his government were considerably enlarged; and he continued to display a degree of active prudence, and decision of conduct, which effected the happiest results. He not only received the thanks of the English government, for the successful vigilance by which he preserved the public tranquillity in Ireland, but also the warmest expressions of gratitude from the numerous persons whose property he saved from devastation and pillage. As the enlargement of his jurisdiction had been occasioned by the fear of a French invasion, he was under the necessity of taking some precautions, which were, in the then state of Ireland, indispensably necessary, but calculated to cast some unpopularity on his character: the disarming the papists was, nevertheless, effected with a mild forbearance, and a regard to circumstances, not often to be met in the history of the country. He carried this harsh necessity into effect without irritating those who were its object, or bringing them into suspicion; and, using a sane and temperate discretion, he managed to limit the

measure to the real urgency of the supposed danger, and to avoid leaving respectable persons, from whom nothing was to be really apprehended, in a defenceless condition. The threat of invasion was, however, soon dispelled, by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, in May.

In the same year, 1692, after having gone the summer circuit in the southern districts, with judge Reynel, he returned to Dublin; where, on the 5th of November, he was knighted by the lord Sydney, at that time lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

In 1693, he was elected as a member of the Philosophical Society, which, about ten years before, had been founded by the exertions of the well known William Molyneux, who was then more known as a philosopher than he has subsequently become as the author of a political pamphlet, which is noticed in his life in the preceding pages. On this occasion he read an essay containing his geographical account of the counties of Derry and Antrim. In the same year he paid a visit to England, where he met with cordial attention and favour from lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the other ministers of government. On this occasion he obtained an order from the treasury for the abatement of one-half of his quitrent. He was also appointed on the commission for Irish forfeitures, with a salary of £900 a-year. This honourable testimony to his talent, and the known high integrity of his character, had the undesirable consequence of plunging him more immediately within the vortex of cabal and factious clamour, which had been the distinguishing affliction of Ireland at all times, but never more conspicuously than at that period.

In the meantime Cox was appointed on the commission for the management of the forfeited lands. The strict equity with which he resisted an oppressive partiality on one side, and the urgency of menace and corruption on the other, soon drew upon him the clamorous accusations of those by whom the just forfeitures of the recent struggle were looked on as a prey, and the no less dangerous resentment of the leaders of popular feeling. It was no hard matter to raise a powerful set against him, and when everything was decided by the movements of intrigue, his displacement was a matter of course. One occasion is honourably distinguished, in which an effort was made to seize on the estates of several gentlemen of the county of Galway, in defiance of the articles of the capitulation by which they were secured from forfeiture. Cox insisted with equal truth and force on the manifest injustice of such a violation of a solemn treaty, and to the great discontent of the jobbing pack which formed the executive government in the castle, he saved the Galway gentlemen from losing their estates by an arbitrary order of council. Such an interference with the views of the Irish administration was not to be endured, and he was presently superseded, on the gratuitous pretext that the council might become a court of judicature, by the presence of so many judges. They covered their real design by dismissing at the same time another judge, whose abilities were of little weight. But soon after an effort was made to complete the manœuvre to the destruction of Sir Richard Cox's credit with the king, by a vote that the forfeitures in Ireland were mismanaged. The effort failed, and only served to raise the reputation it

was designed to destroy. Sir Richard defended himself against a formidable string of accusations, by statements so full, so well vouched, and so forcibly put forward, that the vote was lost. And to make the vindictive spirit of the whole proceeding more apparent, another method of effecting their purpose was resorted to: the commission was objected to on the ground of economy, which demanded a strict and parsimonious management of the revenue, and the reduction of an expensive establishment. In defence of the private policy by which the official agency of the Irish council was at that time governed in the conduct of affairs, we have little to say. We have both in the course of this memoir, and throughout this work, taken every occasion to enforce the distinction to be drawn between the general policy of government, or professed principles of public men or parties, and the private motives by which individuals acting in a system necessarily lax and insufficient in control, may have been led to pursue their personal interests at the cost of their public trusts. We do believe that the occasion of this commission afforded a far surer field for corrupt gain or the iniquitous decisions of private favour or enmity, than for the public advantage of the revenue. The very first origin of the measure involved a most arbitrary and iniquitous usurpation on the part of the English Commons of a power to which they had no claim. For the liquidation of the expenses of the war, it was so wholly inadequate, that on a distinct return, which was afterwards found to have overrated the value of the lands, it was given up.

Sir Richard Cox availed himself of the leisure obtained from his dismissal from a troublesome and invidious office to prosecute some of those numerous pursuits of study and research with which his active mind was filled. An "Essay for the conversion of the Irish" was among the chief results. He is also said to have composed and presented a memorial upon the bill then pending in the house of lords, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures.

In 1701, the lord chief justice of the common pleas died, and Sir Richard was promoted to his place by the king, immediately after which he obtained a seat in the privy council.

On the death of king William, he was summoned to England by Lord Methuen to give his advice on Irish affairs, more especially with a view to the measures to be proposed for the consideration of the Irish parliament. The political views of Sir Richard were in most respects enlightened by the union of great natural sagacity, with the most extensive local and practical information. With respect to the remoter effects, and more indirect influence of civil or economical enactments or managements, he participated in the general obscurity of his time. But he had clear views of the enormous disadvantages, and obstacles to improvement and civil progress, then existing in his country,—the barbarism of a large portion of the inhabitants—the political tendency to an alien jurisdiction, consequent upon a difference of churches—the obstacles and impediments to Irish trade, originating in defective laws and commercial jealousies: with these and such facts strongly impressed on his mind, the advice of Sir

Richard was just, as might be inferred from such knowledge, if referred to the existing state of human opinion, and prudent with regard to the real wants and exigencies of the day. He presented an extensive and clear view of the national resources, local and general; he exposed the political workings among the people and the leaders of popular opinion; the state of trade, with its advantages, and the difficulties to which it was subject. It is also probable that he cautiously laid open the practice of official abuse, which then to a great extent neutralized the beneficent intentions of the government.

Several legislative measures, afterwards passed into law, may be considered as the result of his counsel. Some of these exhibit the fears and cautions which had their foundation in the events of the previous reigns, and marked the entire policy of the day. The fears of popery, as then connected with the claims of rival families to the crown, are exemplified in an act "to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom;" an act "to make it high treason in this kingdom (Ireland) to impeach the succession to the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament;" an act "to prevent the further growth of popery;" an act "for registering the popish clergy;" and several others in the same spirit, of which one or two of the preambles will give the most authentic view of the intent and spirit, as well as of the political tendencies of the time. The first-mentioned act commences thus:—"Whereas great numbers of popish bishops, deans, friars, Jesuits, and other regulars of the popish clergy, do daily come into this kingdom from France, Spain, and other foreign parts, under the disguise or pretence of being popish secular priests, with intent to stir up her majesty's popish subjects to rebellion." From this and another act, "for registering the popish clergy," in the same year,* it seems that a distinction was made between the regular and secular priesthood of the church of Rome, the former of whom were viewed by the legislature as purely political in their design and agency, while the ministrations of the latter having only reference to the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of the Irish, were not further contemplated by the second of these acts, than so far as was necessary to guard against the other orders, which both in the early struggles of the country, and in the recent and then yet existing machinations of the exiled family and its adherents, were undoubtedly instrumental, in a high degree, to the communications which they maintained with Ireland. This view is confirmed by the language of an act in the following year, by which the registering act is explained, and which evidently looks no further than the danger of rebellion. It is, however, evident, that a sense of such a nature in that age, when a disputed succession, turning mainly on the religion of a large class of the Irish people, who had always manifested an unusual tendency to civil strife, at every call of every mover or excitement, could not fail to awaken an intense spirit of suspicion and jealousy, of which the papists themselves must needs have been the direct objects. Nor, if the facts be directly regarded, was the sense either unnatural or without its justification in the actual state of the time, or in the records of the past. And here let it be recollected

* Ir. Statutes. An. Sec. Reg. Ann.

by our readers of that communion, that we have asserted the conditions of the question to have been altered by time, and the changes of continental politics; yet then the case was too plain even for the most dexterous advocacy of modern times to gloss over, without the aid of direct misstatement. Not only was there a strong and unsuppressed devotion to the Pretender, and a sentiment of national animosity sedulously fostered against the English and the protestants, but there was also yet remaining a strong and ardent hope on the part of the descendants of the ancient chiefs and toparchs of the land to regain their old possessions and barbaric control. The Pope still possessed the then expiring remains of that sway which in the middle ages was equivalent to the monarchy of the civilized world, and the regular clergy were yet under the persuasion that Ireland, and indeed England, were to be brought again within the pale of his jurisdiction. To effect these objects, there was but one apparent course—rebellion, under whatever name, or for whatever pretext it was promoted, among a population ever prompt to rebel, and ever open to every persuasion, and credulous of every pretext. Such was the state of facts; a mass of illusions consistent with the ignorance of the people, the iniquitous and turbulent projects of their leaders, and the excusable but inadmissible policy of the Romish church, constituted a case which must be regarded now as entirely exempt from the common rules of political justice, which do not contemplate such a state of things. Political freedom or equality must presume an acquiescence in the fundamental principles of the civil constitution; the maintenance of tenets, civil or ecclesiastical, which have for their object the overthrow of either the state itself, or of the existing rights of any class, or of the peace and order of the whole, must unquestionably be placed under whatever degree of constraint may appear essential for the purpose of effectual control. To this, we presume, no answer will be attempted; and we must confess, the surprise with which we have sometimes contemplated the injudicious and supererogatory efforts of modern popular writers and speakers forcibly to bring the claims of the Irish papists of modern times under the range of arguments from fact and principle, which, however they may be overlooked by a journalist or popular speaker, must ever have weight with the thoughtful and informed. These reflections are the necessary introduction to the mention of a measure which has always been described as one of peculiar hardship—the bill passed in the second year of queen Anne, for “preventing the further growth of popery;” an act which, however it may be justified in principle, is still open to more than doubt as to the prudence of its policy; a doubt which we would suggest on the strong ground, that in point of fact its severer clauses were never to any extent enforced. The act already noticed for guarding the succession, has one of its clauses to this effect:—“And forasmuch as it most manifestly appears that the papists of this kingdom, and other disaffected persons, do still entertain hopes of disappointing the said succession, as the same stands limited, for prevention whereof,” &c., &c. The act in question, among other matters in the preamble, states, that “many persons professing the popish religion have it in their power to raise divisions among protestants, by voting at elections for members of parliament, and also

have it in their power to use other ways and means, tending to the destruction of the protestant interests in this kingdom," &c., &c. Now, if it be kept in mind how much was then known and felt to depend on the safety and integrity of the protestant interests, and if the spirit be recollected that governed the entire conduct of those members of the church of Rome, who had the ignorant populace wholly at their command, the following harsh provisions will be more moderately and fairly judged of. 1st, They were forbidden to attempt to persuade protestants to renounce their church and creed. 2d, Papists were forbidden to send their children beyond seas for education. 3d, A provision is made to secure a subsistence for such children of popish parents as should embrace the protestant religion, in such cases as the parents should fail to provide for them, and the right of inheritance is secured to the eldest son, if a protestant. 4th, The guardianship of orphans is transferred from the nearest relative of the Romish, to the next of the protestant communion. 5th, Protestants having *any estate or interest* in the kingdom are forbidden to intermarry with papists. 6th, Papists are forbidden to purchase and estate in land, exceeding a lease of thirty-one years. 7th, Limits the descent of the estates of protestants to the next protestant heirs, passing over any papist who might be entitled to succeed on the demise of such possessors, unless in case of conformity within a certain specified time. 8th, Provides that the estates of papists' parents shall descend in gavelkind to their children, except in case where the eldest son should be a protestant at his father's death. These provisions are followed by others, for the purpose of securing their effect, by oaths and declarations. Of these one is a declaration for the purpose of ascertaining the creed, followed by an abjuration which we shall give at length, as confirmatory of the view here taken of the real intent of these enactments:—

"I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testifie, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lady, queen Ann, is lawful and rightful queen of this realm, and of all other her majestie's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the life of the late king James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of king of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her majesty queen Ann, and her will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to her majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown, against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands limited by an act, intituled, *An Act declaring the rights and liberties of*

the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, to her present majesty, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and as the same by one other act, intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is and stands limited after the decease of her majesty, and for default of issue of her majesty, to the princess Sophia, electoress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common understanding of the same words, without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, adjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

“SO HELP ME GOD.”

The next clause states the importance of the cities of Limerick and Galway as garrison towns—a fact well confirmed by the entire history of the recent struggle—and on this view provides for their security, in case of any future outbreak of the same formidable spirit which had been laid with so much bloodshed and difficulty, by prohibiting the settlement there of any persons of the Romish communion after the 25th of March, 1703. and by exacting a security for the peaceable demeanour of those who were actual residents. This clause is described by a very clever, and not generally uncandid historian of the present day, with a recklessness of assertion not easily accounted for, even by that writer's extreme party principles,—a violation of the treaties of Limerick and Galway. The assertion is mischievous, as well as unfounded upon any clause or stipulation in either of those treaties. We are of opinion that the fears of the loyalists of that day, and the still more warrantable fears of the English and the commercial inhabitants of this island, contained some exaggeration: such is human feeling. We also think that the consequences of legislation, founded on the prepossessions of fear, were unfortunate; but taking as the true, and only true ground of a just appreciation of the *equity* of that entire system of harsh enactment, we feel bound to insist that it was all unanswerably justified by the whole history of the previous century. If this indeed were not the case,—if our English ancestors, to whom Ireland owes whatever she possesses of prosperity, had really, as Mr Taylor would represent, first robbed and then enslaved,—there is now no wise or humane object in insisting on the fact, or endeavouring to keep alive resentment and vindictive recollection; the wisdom, if not the sincerity, may surely be doubted, which for the service of party, would thus appeal to the very passions which have been the efficient and proximate causes of all the sufferings of unhappy Ireland. To what purpose can it be to tell the Irish people, (were it not an unwarrantable falsehood,) that they have been the victims of every wrong, but to excite that spirit of mistaken retaliation, which has ever, and will ever, recoil upon themselves. If they really were plundered, will the descendants of the plunderer be so gratuitously generous as to make restitution now, in the tenth generation? If they were oppressed, are their descendants to stretch the prerogative of Divine vengeance, and visit the sins of the fathers beyond the

third or fourth generation? If this were justified, in fact, what would be the consequence? *Such* justice will never be obtained while a hand can be lifted to resist: and those who falsify history to preach vengeance, would soon become witnesses to the reality which they so heedlessly overlook in the zeal of their patriotism, and be forced to acknowledge the neglected truth, that it is to such patriots and such a spirit, that Ireland owes all her sufferings. If she is never to know peace, or to attain civil progress, until the results of seven or eight centuries (results ever forgotten in the history of other nations) shall be reversed: she is then alone among nations doomed to a perpetual reproach and curse. These reflections are not designed to vindicate anything, or, on the other hand, to depreciate anything practicable for the advantage even of a party; but we would suggest, that the claims of justice and policy may be better preferred on their actual grounds, either in equity or expediency, than on irritating and false statements of the past.

This severe enactment was plainly suggested by the fear and prudence of the time. It was the direct inference from the history of centuries, and then enforced by events and political workings, fresh in the memory of all. If these facts have happily now no existence, if the Pretender is no more, if the papal supremacy has expired, if the old insurgent temper of the Irish populace has yielded to the influence of growing civilization, if their priesthood has ceased to be a political instrument in the hands of foreign potentates, if the race of old families, once the despots of the soil, have melted into the pacific waters of industry and civilization—why, then, surely this island is mature for a full participation in every right and blessing that equal laws and regulated liberty can give. There is no need for the imprudent and calumnious assumption of a different state of things, which, if it still existed, would render their claims most doubtful. Is it not unjust to give up the whole force of advocacy, by confounding the people of to-day with those of a hundred years ago? Why will the writers of the radical press wrong the people, and stultify themselves by facts which can be contradicted, and reasons which have no force, but to irritate the passions, and endanger the peace and safety of the peasantry, who are the only persons deceived? We should advocate the cause of Ireland on other grounds, and in a different strain. But we are hurried out of our course, by the party representations of writers, into whose works we have been compelled or induced to look. It is more to the purpose, to observe here, that the provisions of the statute thus questioned, contain much to be deeply regretted, as being severe for a purpose not to be attained by severities. The object to be then legitimately pursued, was the effectual control of classes which were actuated by an unsafe spirit; and no means essential to the purpose were superfluous. But with this essential policy, there mingled a considerable and fatal error: it was judged by the inexperienced simplicity of our ancestors, that Romanism itself, to which so many disasters seemed traceable, might be gradually worn out and extinguished by legislative enactments, which were not in fact designed for oppression, but as imposing a motive for what Sir Richard Cox would call “the conversion of the Irish,” it was, they thought, free to every man

to exchange a church which they held to be erroneous, for one which they held to be founded in divine truth; and if their notion was just, none could suffer by the change. They had no ill will to papists as men, but erroneously fancied that popery could be put down by penalties. In this they betrayed some ignorance of human nature, as well as of ecclesiastical history; and we are free to admit that the great support of Romanism in Ireland, has been the strength derived from the political character, and scope of influence thus infused into it. It is one of the unhappy conditions of fallen human nature, to be cold enough about religion as referrible to its real and only just principles, as expressed in the "first and great commandment," and the second, which "is like unto it." But for one who will love God or man, there are ten thousand who will joyfully fight in his name: when a spiritual principle is lowered into a vehicle for discontent, adventure, anger, or mere excitement of any kind, it gathers fire fast enough. It is indeed easier to wield or bear the faggot and brand, than to bear the common humiliations of the Christian walk, or to serve in peace. Such is man in every age and nation. And looking thus on the very justifiable fear and precaution of our forefathers, we think that it was unfortunate to plant, so deeply as they did, the roots of such a tree. The most anxious care, we believe, should be preserved, so far as may be, to keep a clear line between politics and religious tenets; we say, so far as may be, for it is not possible to exclude the consideration when the political and religious tenets happen to be one: a difficulty,—in some degree lessened by the fact, that the individual is not altogether to be identified with the church to which he belongs; for, if no stronger tie than the spiritual tie shall have been forcibly woven, most laymen are held but feebly by the bonds of mere ecclesiastical control. It is also not nearly so light a matter as it may be thought at first view, to take up a ground liable to misrepresentations of so dangerous a character as the charge of religious oppression. Whatever the occasion may chance to be, the rallying point of popular clamour will be some venerable name: for in the whole scope of error there is no admitted plea but truth and right. The most stringent system of civil control, directed against acts or conduct, is less liable to resistance of a dangerous kind, and far more transitory in its after-workings, than the lightest, which places resistance under the sanction of a sacred pretext, and the guidance of spiritual policy.

The papists asked leave to be heard by their counsel against this bill; and the desired permission was granted. Sir Theobald Butler, Messrs Malone, and Rice, attended, and exerted considerable eloquence and ability. They pleaded the treaty of Limerick, which their hearers considered as mere advocacy. They also urged the meritorious conduct of the papists since their last submission; but the argument was surely rather premature—the bloody experiment of insurrection will seldom be tried twice in the same generation. With more truth Butler dwelt on the danger of sowing strife between parents and children; and the truth was felt as a dreadful necessity. It only remains to add here, that this law was from the commencement ineffective. The provisions of real hardship, which affected property, and in some measure tended to injure the authority of parents, were easily eluded

by conveyances and incumbrances, and the whole resources of legal fiction and contrivance. The magistrates, in most instances, refused to perform their part in enforcing a law revolting to the pride, and prejudicial to the interests of those gentlemen, with whom, in the intercourse of private life, they were wont to live on terms of friendship and respect. The Irish parliament, it is true, made repeated efforts to enforce its laws; and in March, 1705, they passed a vote, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In 1709, an act for the further enforcement of this was passed, which demands no additional comment here, save that, while it enforced its essential provisions, it also so regulated and limited its operation, as to lessen the pernicious effects. We shall have, unfortunately, other occasions to revert to this topic, which presents the great stumbling-block to Irish history. It still continues to separate into two irreconcilable systems, the opinions, and even the records of the two great sections into which the intelligence of this country is divided. We shall have conducted our own statements with little skill indeed, if those who think with either, unless with unusual moderation, will consent to reckon us among their parties. On party questions we have already stated truly, and more than once, our principle,—the nature of which is to exclude general reproach from all those great sections of society, who, acting sincerely on the principles they hold for true and just, or the interests by which they are connected, have looked on each other's opinions not only with rational dissent, but even with aversion and prejudice, and in the conflict of long contention and recrimination, have inculpated each other with more accusation and calumny, (true and false,) and obscured each other's whole history with more animosity than the ordinary powers of human reason can avail to remove, correct, and enlighten. In this we pledge ourselves to no particular view of any question; but simply mean to assert, and, so far as in us lies, maintain the assertion, that the public desires and demands of the great aggregate of all public bodies, are always honest, and founded on *their notions* of right and justice. These are, mostly on all sides, largely alloyed with fallacies of every kind; but the bad passions which such oppositions must on both sides call into being, are far the worst, because the most permanent of the evils they produce. And whatever may have been the wrongs, oppressions, or murders and robberies committed on either side, by those unprincipled individuals never wanting to any—their mischief would, like all the real results of this transitory world, die with the actors and sufferers, and produce no effect upon the aftertime, were they not kept alive by the advocacy of party; so that every generation is successively inflamed by the firebrand kindled in the pile of ancient animosities. The story of the phoenix rising regenerated from the ancestral nest, has no stronger type in reality than the hell-kite of dissension, which preys on the peace of this country. But once more, we must refrain: the time is not yet ripe for the one truth, deeply reproachful as it is to all who have sought the good of the country, loving her prosperity "not wisely, but too well." The whole of her sufferings are the result of *protracted dissension*: the combatants, when they pause to look at stained and tram-

pled ground, the broken walls, and the air surcharged with the dust of conflict, may point to the dismal scene, and accuse each other as authors of the ruin wrought by their mutual madness.*

It is more pleasing to the historian to turn from the gloom of such considerations, to the efforts of more enlightened policy for the facilitation of trade. A disordered state of public feeling, the vast uncertainty of peace, and the want of encouragement from the ascendant power of England, presented serious obstacles to a commerce so fortunate in its natural resources, that even these disadvantages could not prevent it from making a considerable start in advance, whenever there was a breathing time from civil fury. The obstacles which resulted from an uncertain state of property, and still more from the feebleness and defectiveness of the law, presented a more constant pressure, and were less capable of being remedied by any occasional measure or individual resistance; they operated not so much by direct interference, as by the influence they had in enfeebling the vital functions of trade by the effect which they had on public credit. To remedy this disadvantage, few laws were made, because the eye of the government was diverted from the ordinary processes of civil life, by the violent and disordered processes which affected the whole state of the land, in which no member performed its proper office, or moved in its proper place. An act "for quieting possessions, and disposing of undisposed and *plus* acres," was among the most useful and judicious enactments planned on the same occasion. In the preamble of this act, several statements are incidentally made, which throw some light on the policy of the government, and the state of the country. The introductory sentences state, that "Whereas it will very much tend to the prosperity of this kingdom, which hath been ruined by the frequent rebellions of Irish papists, and to the interests of your majesty's revenue, that your good subjects be quieted in their possessions, and encouraged to plant and improve the country." For the purpose of this encouragement, so essential to the advance of Irish prosperity, two main provisions are contained in this act,—viz., the disposal of certain residual denominations of lands, of which the principal part had already been granted, or otherwise disposed of. These portions, called *plus* acres, were now to be "vested in such person, or persons, who, on the 1st day of October, 1702, were in the possession of such *plus* acres, by themselves, their tenants, &c.," to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever, liable to such quitrent as was payable out of the other portions of the same denominations already vested. And by the following clause, to terminate all disputes about the possession of such land, a power was vested in the lord-lieutenant and six of the privy council, within three years to hear, and finally determine, all claims to their possession. The act goes on to state the fact, that there still continued to be large tracts of the same class of lands undisposed of; for the most part so sterile as

* How far the principle here enforced is capable of any practical application is a question of a different kind, and not within our province. Rights, whether real or imaginary, will not be relinquished for the good of mankind; and truth, if sacred, ought not, for any earthly consideration. But it is the more incumbent on those who agitate the world, to weigh well the tenets they support and propagate,

not to be worth any quitrent, "and therefore remains desolate and uninhabited, but are a receptacle for thieves, robbers, and tories, to the great detriment of the country, and delay of her majesty's revenue." On these considerations, a power is similarly given to the lord-lieutenant, &c., as before, to grant those lands to protestants, for reasonable rents, and such terms of years as they might see fit. Still more to the purpose declared in the preamble, is the first clause of the next following chapter of the act, which confirms every estate vested in pursuance of the acts of settlement and explanation, in the last reign, to be held free from all liabilities and exceptions contained in the provisions of that act, and in future barring all claimants who had not hitherto brought their actions, by the full and final extinction of their pretended rights.*

An advantage of at least equal importance to the trade of this kingdom was the act for recovery of small debts, &c., attributable entirely to the judicious advice of Sir Richard Cox. He also obtained an act of the English parliament, allowing the exportation of Irish linen direct to the colonies.

The effect of his visit to England was to make the character and distinguished abilities of Cox more thoroughly known and appreciated; and Mr Methuen, the Irish chancellor, having been sent ambassador to Portugal, Cox was raised to that high office.

In 1705, Sir Richard was appointed lord-justice, together with lord Cutts, the duke of Ormonde being at the time lord-lieutenant. The jacobite principles of this nobleman were fully understood, and there was entertained among the members of the Irish administration an anxious wish for his removal. The reader is aware that on both sides of the water there was at this time a powerful though latent collision of the two great antagonist parties on the subject of the succession. It was universally felt that the queen and court party were secretly favourable to the Pretender, and that all the great leaders of the court party kept up a private correspondence with that unfortunate family. Among these, some, as Marlborough, Harley, &c., were simply desirous to keep themselves well with either side, and had a sincere desire to preserve the act of settlement as limited by the act of succession. Others, among whom St John with the duke of Ormonde were the chief, were more sincere in their political zeal for the exile. The jacobites were of course preferred to place and power; and during this reign there was a general disposition of the administrative arrangements for the purposes of that party. This was carried to as great a height as the strong and universal sense of the British public admitted, so that there is abundant proof that the most of the court measures and appointments were dictated by James, or by his authorized agents in London. Ireland was, as ever, the rallying point of expectation; the devoted tenacity of the popular affections, the influence of the Roman See, the over-mastery of the thoroughly diffused agency of the regular clergy, and the general, and indeed natural, bias of a prevailing creed, which by its very institution was political, and which a stringent control imbibed; all these considerations, of which the

* Ir. Statutes, 2 Anne Reg. c. ix.

most prominent had already made Ireland the stage of a desolating conflict, now made it the scene of an important byplay of party. Under these circumstances, it is not improbable that there were several strong currents of public feeling against the person and conduct of the duke of Ormonde. In spite of the popularity of his very name and title, it was in effect difficult for him long to continue in favour with any. Compelled by circumstances to pursue a line of conduct which deprived him of the regard of the Irish party, his real temper and private views were too well known to be trusted by the English. The British cabinet, reluctantly hurried along by the strong zeal of the whig party, which then occupied the position and politics of the modern conservative, the measures of the administration were for the most part in conformity with the great protestant feeling in England, and the duke was directed to "prevent the growth of popery." To this effect he had pledged himself, and he kept his promise. From the state of feeling already described as secretly governing the administration of affairs, we should be inclined to infer that numerous under-currents of fear, suspicion, doubt, and intrigue, of which we have before us no direct evidence, then strongly agitated the minds of political men, and led to demonstrations not now precisely to be explained. The duke was, we doubt not, at the time sincere in his profession of political faith, though after-circumstances show that his mind was working round to the strong bias of the court. If the inference should yet be premature, still the anti-Jacobite zeal of the English people, and of the protestant party in Ireland, exasperated by a just suspicion of the court party, was not easily satisfied. The distinction of whig and tory became at this time prevalent in Ireland, and with it, it is probable, that the violent party feelings connected with it were also imported—from which our inference derives additional probability. Whatever were the duke's opinions, he must have at the time begun to be an object of jealous observation. And if it be said that the decision of his conduct was sufficient to exempt him from doubt, yet it is to be observed that for this he had the less credit with the whig party, as he was known to have, from carelessness and facility of character, so entangled himself in the discharge of his public trusts, as to be much in the power of the leaders of that party. Whatever were the causes, after the duke's recall to England, the feeling of the council against his continuing to hold the vice-regal office, began to show itself strongly. Lord Cutts, with Sir Richard Cox, were on this occasion appointed lords-justices. Cutts died, and an effort was made by some of the Irish council to persuade Sir Richard to issue writs to the council to elect a governor; by this means hoping that the duke might be superseded tacitly. To render this proposal more persuasive, it is asserted that it was suggested to Sir Richard that he would be the person on whom the choice of the council would fall. He was too experienced and sagacious to be circumvented by such an artifice, and repelled the temptation. An old statute of Henry VIII. was proposed as the authority for this proposal: Sir Richard explained that this statute was but a provision for the absence of the chief magistrate of the kingdom. The councillors urged, and Sir Richard consulted his learned brethren, the judges and law officers of the crown, who coincided in his view, to which, thus confirmed, he

adhered, to the no small vexation of those who had endeavoured to urge him on the opposite course.

In April, 1707, the duke of Ormonde was removed, and the earl of Pembroke was appointed in his room. There seems, at the moment, to have been a strong doubt among Sir Richard's friends as to the consequences of the change as regarded himself. But on the following June, he found himself under the necessity of resigning the seals to the lord-lieutenant, who took them with an assurance that he would not have received them but with the design of adequate compensation. Sir Richard was aware of the active enmity to which both his recent conduct and his known politics had exposed him, and he felt that he must not expect to pass free from its effects; but with the natural firmness of his manly character, he resolved to face his enemies, and trust to the integrity of his entire conduct and character. His country affairs had been for some time calling for his presence, and he had been preparing to leave town; but, considering the construction which political animosity is always prepared to fasten on the most indifferent actions, he resolved to stand his ground, and brave the inquiry which he knew his enemies would soon set on foot. On this point he was not kept in suspense: numerous accusations were brought against him; all of which he answered so fully and ably, as they followed each other, that the malevolence of his accusers was confounded, and their perseverance wearied.

On the death of queen Anne, Sir Richard retired from public life. In April, 1733, he was seized with an apoplectic attack, of which he died in the following month, at the age of eighty-three. He was endowed with many personal advantages, and many great qualifications for the professional career in which he rose to eminence, as well as for literature, such as it was in Ireland in his day. His historical work is well known, and has been largely used in the former parts of this work. His zeal, as a Protestant writer, is such as to render him liable to the charge of partiality; but he cannot be fairly charged with misrepresentation; and they who would make the charge, would do well to weigh his statements taken with their foundation in fact and general consistency, compared with the unmeasured and angry statements of the writers who may be regarded as his antagonists. His zeal is to be accounted for creditably, by the actual state of Ireland through his long life; and if we make many abatements on the score of fear and error, still, to estimate mens' conduct justly, we have no right to demand superhuman penetration, that looks beyond the present probabilities and appearances, and measures opposition by the philosophical standard of a political canon, which, in the middle of the 19th century has not yet been ascertained.

GEORGE FARQUHAR.

BORN, A.D. 1678.—DIED, A.D. 1707.

FARQUHAR was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Londonderry in 1678. He is said to have manifested early proofs of dramatic genius. He entered in the university of Dublin, in 1694; and, for some time, showed both industry and talent, but soon fell into a course of dissipation. The result was a total relaxation in his studies, and, if the account which has been given of his expulsion from college be true, he must have, for some time at least, fallen very low into the depraved levities, to which the young are liable when too soon set free from parental control. His class had been given an exercise on a sacred subject, which Farquhar having neglected until he was called upon in the hall, or perhaps in his tutor's apartment; he then proposed to acquit himself by an extemporaneous exercise. The proposal was allowed, and he wrote or uttered a jest at the same time so wretched, indecent, and blasphemous, that we cannot here make even an allusion to its monstrous purport. We are, indeed, inclined to disbelieve a story of such silliness and depravity; but, if it really occurred, it would serve to exemplify a mind so far gone from every sense of respect and decency, as for a time at least to have forgotten their existence in others; for it is said that Farquhar was disappointed at the failure of a witticism which could only have been tolerated in the last stages of drunkenness, to elicit the approbation of sober and religious men.

The narrative of this strange account relates that, in consequence he was expelled, *tangum pestilentia hujus societatis*, from the university. The walks of professional life, which are the general aim of academic study, were thus closed against him, and he took refuge upon the stage for which he had in the meantime contracted a strong taste. He had formed an intimacy with Wilks, a well-known English actor, at the time engaged in Dublin, and by his interposition obtained an engagement. His *debut* was favourable, and he continued for a short time on the stage, until he had the ill fortune to wound a brother actor very severely in playing a part in Dryden's play of the Indian emperor. The accident was occasioned by his having inadvertently neglected to change his sword for a foil, in a scene in which he was to kill his antagonist. He was so much shocked that he resolved at once to abandon the stage as an actor.

His friend Wilks was at the time engaged by Rich to play in London. Farquhar accompanied him—and there is reason to presume, that he must have previously made up his mind to try his fortune and genius as a dramatic writer. He had also the good fortune to become acquainted with the earl of Orrery, who gave him a lieutenancy in his regiment.

In 1698, he brought out his comedy of "Love in a Bottle," which was acted with applause. In 1700, he produced his "Trip to the Jubilee," and obtained well-merited popularity by the character of Sir Harry Wildair. This celebrated comedy had a run of fifty-three

nights, and gained a reputation for Wilks in the principal character not inferior to that of the author. The same year Farquhar paid a visit to Holland, where he obtained the notice due to his celebrity. Among the incidents of this visit, he mentions an entertainment given by the earl of Westmoreland, at which king William was a guest.

By the influence of Farquhar, that well-known actress, Mrs Oldfield, was first introduced to the London boards in her sixteenth year. Her success was promoted by a drama brought out in 1701 by her protector, in which she obtained very distinguished applause. This was the year of Dryden's death—and Farquhar gives a description of his funeral in one of his letters. The following year he published his letters, essays, and poems, which are replete with all the peculiar qualities of his mind. Among these letters there is one in which he gives to his mistress, Mrs Oldfield, a very characteristic description of himself. "My outside is neither better nor worse than Creator made it; and the piece being drawn by so great an artist, 'twere presumption to say there were many strokes amiss. I have a body qualified to answer all the ends of its creation, and that's sufficient. As to the mind, which, in most men, wears as many changes as their body, so in me 'tis generally dressed in *black*. In short, my constitution is very splenetic, and my amours, both which I endeavour to hide lest the former should offend others, and the latter incommode myself; and my mind is so vigilant in restraining these two failings, that I am taken for an easy-natured man by my own sex, and an ill-natured clown by yours. I have little estate but what lies under the circumference of my hat; and should I by misfortune lose my head, I should not be worth a groat. But I ought to thank Providence that I can, by three hours' study, live one and twenty, with satisfaction to myself, and contribute to the maintenance of more families than some who have thousands a year."

In 1702, "the Inconstant" appeared with less than his usual success: this is accounted for by the circumstance of a change in the public taste in favour of the Italian opera. The same year he became the dupe of a female adventurer, who took a violent fancy to him, and determined to obtain him for a husband by an unprincipled stratagem, which, perhaps, loses much of its disgusting character when viewed in reference to the lax morals of the period, and the depraved lessons of the stage, in which Farquhar had his ample share. Knowing that he was not to be won without money, the female of whom we speak caused reports of her ample fortune to be circulated in every quarter which best suited her design. And, in the same way, it was conveyed to the vain poet's ear, that she had become desperately in love with him. Farquhar, who was utterly devoid of discretion, at once fell into the snare: the double bait was more than vanity and poverty could withstand. He married his fair ensnarer, and was, of course, undeceived not very satisfactorily—such a practical exemplification of his art he must have considered as bordering too nearly upon the tragic. But it was among the lessons of his pen, and in the habitual contemplation of his mind more nearly allied to the wit of the comic author, than to the baseness of the actual reality. Farquhar too, was not one to brood over an injury, or to reflect very seriously on any-

thing: if he was shocked, it was only for a moment, and he easily forgave the trick; and is said to have always after conducted himself with affection and kindness to his wife.

In 1704, he produced the "Stage Coach," a farce, with the assistance of a friend. In the following year "The Twin Rivals" appeared; and in 1706, "The Recruiting Officer," of which he is mentioned to have collected the materials on a recruiting party in which he was employed for his regiment, in Shrewsbury. Captain Plume, in this farce, is supposed to represent the author himself, and serjeant Kite his serjeant.

The "Beaux Stratagem" completes the list of his works. It still holds a high place in the list of what is called genteel comedy; we know not whether it yet retains any place on the stage, but it was a favourite in the early part of the present century. He died before its appearance—a prey to grief and disappointment, owing to great distress of circumstances, and, it is said, the perfidy of his patron. This nobleman, when applied to in the hour of need, persuaded him to relieve himself by the sale of his commission, and promised to obtain another for him very soon. The advice was followed, but the promise was forgotten; and Farquhar was so heavily affected by the painful feelings occasioned by such a complicated affliction he never again held up his head, but died in April, 1707, in his twenty-ninth year. He left two daughters in a state of entire destitution; but they were befriended by Wilks, his first and last earthly friend, to whom a very pathetic appeal was found among his papers after his death: it was the following brief note:—

"DEAR BOB,

"I have not anything to leave thee to perpetuate my memory but two helpless girls; look upon them sometimes, and think of him that was to the last moment of his life thine,

"GEORGE FARQUHAR."

Wilks obtained a benefit for the girls—it was very successful, and the produce was employed for their support.

Many years have past since we have looked into the comedies of Farquhar; we can now form but an indistinct opinion of their general character and merits from any recollection of our own. They belong perhaps to a department of the drama, which, of all branches of English literature, is the least likely to be restored to the possession of that popular favour which is the legitimate claim of those dramas which pretend to the representation of life and manners. Farquhar has been compared with Congreve. If the preference were to be settled with regard to pre-eminence of genius, or even superiority in that wit, in which both excelled, we should not hesitate to decide for Congreve—if, indeed, we should admit the propriety of so unequal a comparison. But Farquhar has his advantages which, although less brilliant and imposing when viewed with regard to genius only, give him many practical claims to an effective superiority. Compared with his greater rival, he is far more natural, and far less licentious and impure: and while the sparkling dialogues of Congreve could never have

taken place except upon the stage, Farquhar's scenes were at least true to human life, the manners of his day, and the passions of nature. His plots were also more finished, and the style of his dialogue more simple and unaffected.

Either of these distinguished comic writers, if they should at a future time be looked into, will be chiefly valuable for the reflexion which they retain of the taste and morals of the age in which they wrote; for, of both, it may be said, that they are licentious and artificial. There yet remained the consequences of that corruption of which we think the origin must be looked for in the disorders of the long rebellion, but which was nurtured and brought to its rank maturity in the hotbed of king Charles' court. A strong reaction set in during the reign of William and Mary; but the taint was too congenial for human nature to throw off with ease. Purer rules may be adopted by the reason and conscience, long before taste and fashion, which dwell in pleasures and levities, will be restored. The misapplications of talent are directed by the beck and eye of folly—to say no worse—and the taste of succeeding generations will long continue vitiated by the perpetuating influence of the poet.

It was in this generation, and in the person of Congreve, that the licentiousness of the comic drama received a check from which we are inclined to date much of the reform in manners, which can be subsequently traced. We refer to Collier's "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage," published in 1688. He was weakly opposed by Congreve, whose opposition had only the effect of prolonging, and giving added decision to the victory of his antagonist. "Collier lived," writes Dr Johnson, "to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre."

Of Congreve, we are entitled to offer a separate notice, as he was educated first at Kilkenny, and then in the university of Dublin. The place of his birth has been disputed, but he was himself strenuous in the assertion of his claim to have been a native of England. We do not see any reason to dispute the point, and our fast contracting limits offer some for declining the doubtful honour. So far as education may be allowed to govern the judgment, store the memory, or guide the taste, his literary reputation is due to the university of Dublin. A brief but sufficient memoir of his life has been written by Johnson, whose writings are in every hand.

NAHUM TATE.

BORN A.D. 1652.—DIED A.D. 1715.

NAHUM TATE was the son of a clergyman of the county of Cavan. He was born in Dublin, whither his father had been driven by the rebels. His father became, after some vicissitudes, minister of Werburgh's church in Dublin. It may be inferred that the son had the advantages of a peaceable youth and pious education. At the age of sixteen he entered the university of Dublin. He was favoured

early with the patronage of the earl of Dorset, and succeeded Shadwell as poet laureat. The incidents of his life were few and uninteresting. He fell into great distress and died, it is said in the Mint, into which he had escaped from his creditors.

As a writer, he cannot receive much commendation—his poems and dramatic works could hardly be considered as entitling him to a notice here. But those far and universally known versions of the psalms, which have given to piety a welcome and available resource, and added to sacred music the utterance of inspired feeling, is not to be rated by the talent that has been employed in the pious and honourable task. When the proudest monuments of human genius shall have past away, and when the thoughts of which the very foundation and meaning subsist in perishable things shall have been forgotten, the meanest song, in which eternal truths are uttered, may be preserved by their abiding truth, and be a portion of the records of heaven.

The songs of Zion do not indeed demand the genius of Moore or Byron, to give to heavenly inspiration the power of earthly genius. They demand no refined and artful melody of versification, no terse and pointed rhetoric of style, to wrest them from their pure and simple significancy: they refuse the additions which are involved in the whole art of poetry, and have only required, with the utmost truth and fidelity to be conformed to the rhythm adapted to church music, and to the genius of the national ear. To be sung, as in their origin they were, and to be still the song of every rank and tongue, as well adapted to the sabbath-evening of the peasant, as the endowed cathedral; to be the effusion of the simplest christian piety, and still not lose their tone and echo of the ancient harp of Israel, only demanded changes of form, to which aspiring genius, with its excess of invention and profuse array of intellectual tints, will not be confined; and which a thorough infusion of genuine sympathy with pious sentiments, can alone command. In such a task a more refined and gifted mind than Tate's might have found itself wanting; and, it may perhaps be not unfitly added—for we have seen it variously exemplified—that a degree of intellectual power little competent in most exertions of human aim, when employed in the service of God, and elevated by that Spirit which is greater than the power of genius, will reach to heights which can be accounted for in no other way than by tracing them to the source of all truth and wisdom,—such efforts will ever be found characterized by a chaste adaptation to their good and hallowed purpose.

ROBERT, VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

BORN A.D. 1656.—DIED A.D. 1725.

THE Molesworth family anciently possessed rank and fortune in the counties of Bedford and Northampton; and are traced so far back as the reign of the first Edward, from whom their ancestor, Sir William de Molesworth, received knighthood in 1306, on the occasion when

prince Edward was knighted. He had attended the king in his expedition to the Holy Land, and, at several times, received distinguished honours from him and his successor.

From a younger branch of his descendants in a direct line, came Robert, the father of the person here under our notice. In the rebellion of 1641, he came into Ireland as a captain in the regiment commanded by his elder brother. At the termination of the civil wars, he became an undertaker, and obtained 2500 acres of land in the county of Meath. He afterwards became a merchant in Dublin, and rose into great wealth and favour with the government. He died in 1656.

Four days after his father's death, in the same year, Robert Molesworth was born—the only son of his father.

He received his education in Dublin, and entered the university. He married early, probably in his twentieth year, a sister of the earl of Bellamont. In the struggle previous to the Revolution, he came forward early in support of the prince of Orange, for which his estates were seized by king James, under whose parliament he was attainted. He was, however, soon restored to his rights, by king William, who entertained a high esteem for him; and, soon after his accession to the throne, sent him as an envoy into Denmark.

At Denmark he fell into some disfavour with the Danish court. The circumstances are only known through the representations of an adversary; but they are probable, and may be substantially true. He is stated, by Dr King, on the authority of the Danish envoy, to have most unwarrantably trespassed on the royal privileges, by hunting in the royal preserves, and riding on the road exclusively appropriated to the king. In consequence of those freedoms, he was forbidden the court, and left the country without the ordinary form of an audience. On his arrival in England, he wrote and published "An Account of Denmark." The book was written under the influence of resentment, and gave a very unfavourable account of the Danish government. It was, of course, highly resented by that court, and most especially by prince George, who was married to the English princess Anne, afterwards queen of England. A complaint was made to king William, by Scheele, the Danish envoy in London—he also supplied Dr King with materials for a reply—on the warrant of which we have the above particulars.

Molesworth's book became at once popular, and was the means of greatly extending his reputation, and raising him in the estimation of the most eminent literary characters of the day. He served in the Irish house of commons, for the borough of Swords. He was elected to a seat in the English parliament, for East Retford. He obtained a seat in the privy council, in the reign of queen Anne—but lost it in 1713, in the heat of party, in consequence of a complaint brought against him by the lower house of convocation, for some words of an insulting purport spoken by him in public. It is, however, easy to see that, in the fierce animosity of the tories then striving for existence, a staunch supporter of the house of Hanover had little chance of favour. The "Crisis," mentioned in the previous memoir, was partly written in defence of Molesworth.

At length the accession of George the first once more restored the Whigs to place and favour. Molesworth was again named as one of the Irish privy council, and a commissioner of trade and plantations.

In 1716, the king created him an Irish peer, under the titles of baron Philipstown and viscount Molesworth of Swords, by patent, dated 16th July, 1716. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and took a prominent part in every concern which affected the welfare of his country, till the last two years of his life, when he withdrew from public affairs, and devoted his time to literary retirement.

He died 22d May, 1725, and was buried at Swords.

Besides his "Account of Denmark," he wrote several pieces of considerable ability, which had, in their day, the effect of exciting public attention, and awakening a useful spirit in Ireland.

In 1723, he published an address to the Irish house of commons for the encouragement of agriculture, and in 1719, a letter relative to the Irish peerage. He translated a political treatise of the civilian Hottoman, from the Latin, and this work reached a second edition, in 1721. His tracts were numerous, and were generally approved for their strong sense and plain force of style.

THOMAS SOUTHERN.

BORN A. D. 1659—DIED A. D. 1746.

SOUTHERN was born in Dublin in 1659, and entered the Dublin University in 1676. He did not continue his academical studies for more than a year, when he quitted Ireland, and went to study law in London. The temper of mind which was impatient of the studies of the University, was not likely to be fixed by the severer attractions of special pleading. Southern soon turned aside to dally with the lighter muse.

In 1682, the "Persian Prince," his earliest dramatic production, was acted. One of the principal persons of this drama was designed as a compliment to the duke of York, from whom he received a gratuity in return. After the accession of this prince to the throne, Southern obtained an ensigncy in the regiment of earl Ferrers, and served in Monmouth's rebellion. After this was terminated by the capture of that ill-fated nobleman, Southern seems to have left the army and given himself wholly to dramatic composition. He is mentioned as having acquired more money by his plays than any writer up to his time, and to have been the first to obtain a second and third night of representation for the author of a successful play. He also received sums till then unknown for his copyright, and gave larger prices for prologues. Pope notices this, in his lines addressed to Southern, with which we shall close this notice. Dryden having once asked him how much he got by a play—was answered, £700; while, by Dryden's comment on the circumstance, it appears that he had himself never obtained more than £100. This we are more inclined to attribute to the address and prudence of Southern, and to other causes of

a more general nature than to any superiority of dramatic power. Any comparison between the two would, indeed, be too absurd; but there is, nevertheless, an important consideration which we can here do no more than merely state. It cannot but be felt—and in later times it has become far too plain to be overlooked—that the acting success of a drama is no criterion of the genius of the writer, or of the intellectual qualities employed in its composition. Considerable talent there, indeed, must be, to secure success; but then it is mainly of that kind which is generally understood by the term *artistic*, and having the nature of skill rather than genius. We are the less desirous to pursue this point, because, in recent times, it has become too plain to be missed by any one. Indeed, some of the most thoroughly successful stageplays of the present generation, indicate to a reader no talent save in the very lowest degree—neither plot, character, passion, sentiment, nor the least power of exciting the smallest interest, unless in strict reference to mere stage effect. The principle appears to be, that it requires little power to awaken human sympathies with present and visible action and scene. Dramatic skill has improved upon the maxim of the Roman critic:—

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, quæque
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

The commonest incident, or most ordinary affection of humanity, actually presented to the eye, has on the crowd a more thoroughly awakening and attractive effect, than the noblest conceptions of genius, or the most refined and delicate traits of sentiment or character. In these remarks, we should regret much to be understood to depreciate the consummate art which, in modern fiction—for so far our remark may be easily extended—renders the very lowest degree of intellectual power available.

Southern who has, perhaps, the honour to be the great founder of this our modern school of dramatic production, seems also to have manifested a proportional command of those subordinate talents which have since so much contributed to its success. By the address and dexterity with which he practised the art of disposing of his tickets to the best advantage, he contributed, at the same time, to the success and to the produce of his dramas.

Notwithstanding these remarks, it must be admitted that Southern is, in no small degree, to be exempted from the depreciating estimate which they may be thought to imply. It was long before the stage had reached its full command over the elements of poverty, dryness, and triteness of incident, and attained the maximum of stage effect. Southern has no great power of any kind; but it is evident that to the cultivation of this great end, he adds considerable knowledge of the passions and some poetry. It may also be favourably noticed, that he showed much good taste in freeing the drama from the extravagance and impurity of the day in which he wrote. He was highly thought of by Dryden; Gray also, a far superior critic, praises his pathetic powers. It ought, however, to be a qualification of this praise, that

his success was greatly to be attributed to the skill with which he seized on real incidents, which could not, by any clumsiness of treatment, be deprived of their affecting interest. The story of Oroonoko was true, almost to its minutest details. If read under this impression, the reader will see that Southern has not done much; and this is, probably his chief production. The story was first told in a novel by Mrs Behn—who had resided at the scene, been acquainted with the parties, and witnessed the incidents and the catastrophe.

Southern lived to his eighty-fifth year. He lived the latter years of his life in Tothill Street, Westminster, and was remarked to be a constant attendant at the cathedral service. Prior to this he had resided near Covent Garden; and is described by Mr Oldys as a person of grave and venerable exterior, dressed in black, "with his silver sword and silver locks;" and the following notice occurs among Gray's letters to Horace Walpole—"We have old Mr Southern at a gentleman's house, a little way off, who often comes to see us. He is now seventy-seven years old, and has almost wholly lost his memory; but is as agreeable an old man as can be—at least I persuade myself so, when I look at him and think of Isabella and Oroonoko." Dryden appears to have placed him on the same rank with Otway, and is said to have employed him to finish his own tragedy of Cleomenes. The following are Pope's lines to Southern, on his birth-day in 1742.

Resigned to live—prepared to die,
 With not one sin, but poetry,
 This day Tom's fair account has run
 Without a blot to eighty-one.
 Kind Boyle before his poet lays
 A table with a cloth of bays;
 And Ireland, mother of sweet singers,
 Presents her harp still to his fingers.
 The feast his tow'ring genius marks
 In yonder wild-goose and the larks!
 The mushrooms show his wit was sudden,
 And for his judgment, lo, a pudden!
 Roast beef, though old, proclaims him stout,
 And grace, although a bard, devout.
 May Tom, whom Heav'n sent down to raise
 The price of prologues and of plays,
 Be every birth-day more a winner,
 Digest his thirty thousandth dinner;
 Walk to his grave without reproach,
 And scorn a rascal and a coach.

It is rather curious to observe how nearly Pope's allotment of dinners approaches to the actual number of Southern's days, at the very birth-day which he celebrates. This, with the known minute love of precision which was characteristic of Pope, suggests the idea of a calculation and an oversight. In endeavouring to be precise, the poet forgot that he was setting a very near limit to the days he thus numbered. Southern lived till 1746—four years longer.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

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HISTORICAL INFORMATION

TRANSITION PERIOD

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THE
IRISH NATION:
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ITS BIOGRAPHY.

BY
JAMES WILLS, D.D.,
AND
FREEMAN WILLS, M.A.

VOLUME II.

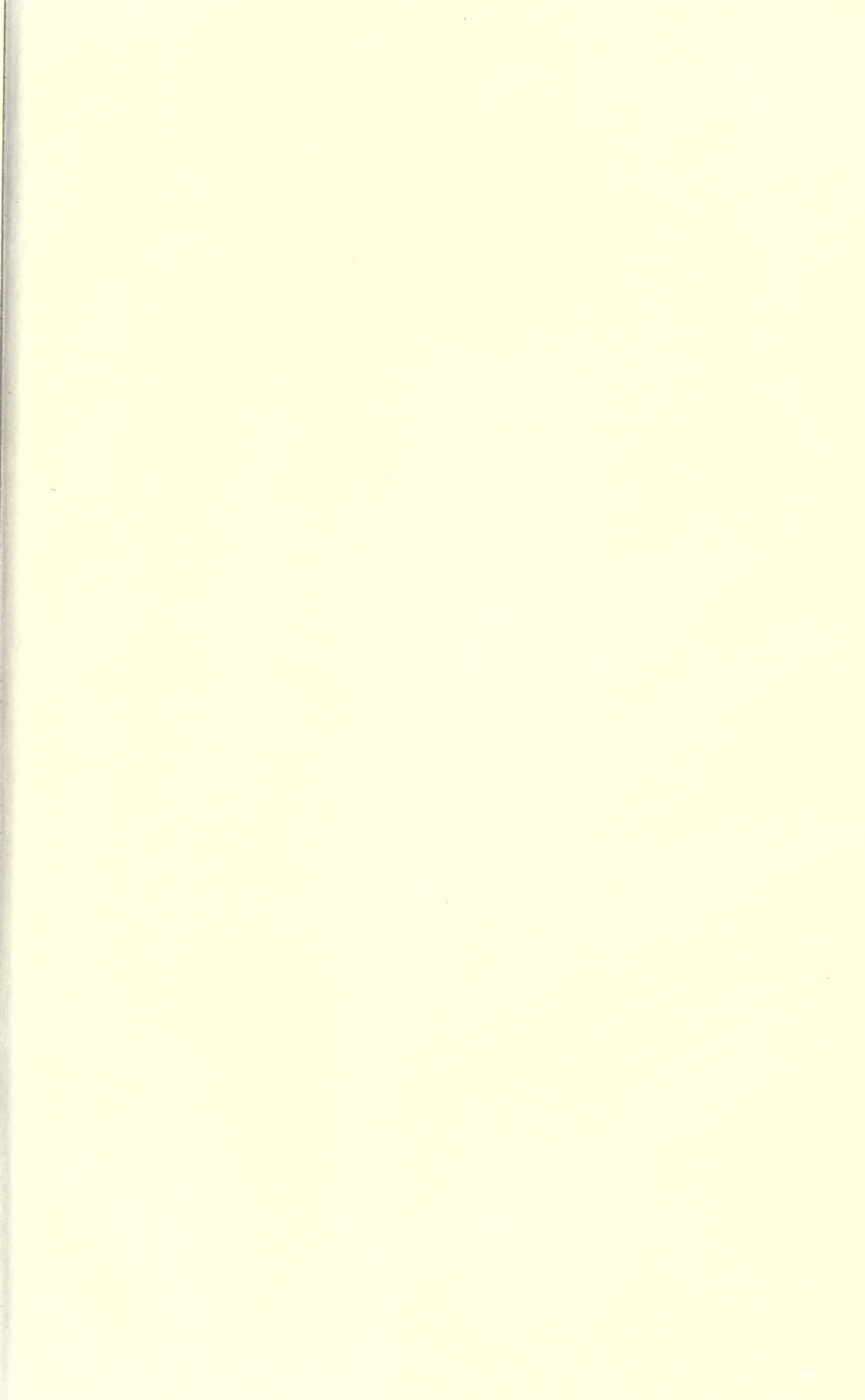
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